

RECORDS

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VOL. V.



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RECORDS OF THE PAST:

BEING

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

OF THE

ASSYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS.

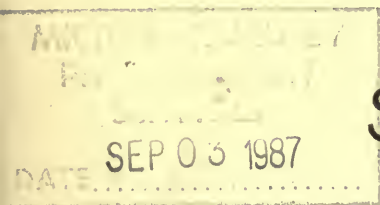
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VOL. V.

ASSYRIAN TEXTS.



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LONDON:

SAMUEL BAGSTER AND SONS,

15, PATERNOSTER ROW.

NOTE.

Every Text here given is either now translated for the *first time*, or has been specially revised by the Translator to the date of this publication.

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P R E F A C E.

THE fifth volume of the "RECORDS OF THE PAST" contains translations from the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian cuneiform inscriptions. Most of these are from historical monuments as being of the greatest value to ancient history. In the present volume are several of the most important Babylonian inscriptions, amongst them that of Nebuchadnezzar of whose history unfortunately but few contemporary documents are at present known, while of the earlier kings of Babylon mere fragmentary notices remain. The student as well as the general public will find this volume equal in interest to the preceding and the amount of new information considerable. Issued simultaneously with the fourth of the series in order to meet public demand and expectation, the rapidity with which it has been brought out is due to the cordial co-operation of the Assyrian scholars who have worked indefatigably for its production, and have in so short a time prepared or revised their different translations. Although historical texts have first engaged the attention of scholars, an unexhausted supply of literary or scientific import, as well as mythology and official records, still remain for selection, many of which have been as yet untouched. Amongst them are the so-called Izdubar legends comprising the account of the Babylonian and Assyrian Cosmogony, the creation of the world, and

of man, his fall, the war of the gods in heaven, the deluge, and other traditions some of which have been translated, but others have not as yet been published. Some of these will form the material of subsequent volumes and afford a general idea of the mythology of the two great Semitic empires and will prove of great value for the comparative study of mythology, at present so little understood on account of the investigations having been restricted to the myths of the Aryan nations. If freedom, eloquence and philosophy have had their home in the West, religion has always from the most remote ages had its cradle in the East. From the East originated germs of thought which grew up into blossoms amongst other races long after the parent stem had lain a sapless trunk in the distant regions of the Euphrates and the Nile. It must be again repeated that it is impossible to know the sources of Hellenic and Italian civilization by enquiries directed into purely Aryan sources. The orbit of vision has been enlarged, the decipherment and interpretations of these dead and extinct languages, like the discovery of the telescope in astronomy, carry the eye to the farthest realms of space, to enlarged human vision. So this newly acquired instrument of interpretation has pierced the hitherto unseen period which transcends the secondary history of the West. The classical and biblical scholar, alike require the valuable information now placed at their disposal as elements of primary instruction for their studies.

S. BIRCH.

London, 1st July, 1875.

THE LEGEND
OF THE
INFANCY OF SARGINA THE FIRST,
KING OF AGANI.

TRANSLATED BY
H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S.

THE text of this story is lithographed in plate 4 of the third volume of Rawlinson's British Museum inscriptions. I gave a translation of it in the *Transactions* of the *Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. I., p. 271.

One portion of it much resembles the history of the infancy of Moses as related in the second chapter of Exodus. We there read that the mother of Moses "took for him an ark of bulrushes *and daubed it with slime and with pitch* and put the child therein, and she laid it in the flags by the river's brink? All this was done likewise by the mother of Sargina. The pitch was to prevent the entrance of the water. Exod. ii. v. 5, 6. "And Pharaoh's daughter saw the ark among the flags, and she sent her maid to fetch it. And *when she had opened it* she saw the child." This circumstance also agrees exactly. Sargina's mother had made a door to the ark, and closed it with pitch, of course only round the edges. The child would breathe freely through the interstices of the rushes and could not fall out of the ark.

Similar traditions attend the birth of other great lawgivers or founders of nations. The story of Romulus offers in some respects a striking resemblance. The mother of Romulus was a king's daughter: *but his father was unknown*. The new-born infant was placed in a boat (*alveus*, Livy) and launched on the waters of the Tiber. The boat coming ashore, was found by the king's herdsman, who with his wife Acca brought him up as his own child. When of sufficient age he became the head of a band of rustic and warlike youths and gradually reached sovereign power.

Similarly Sargina was saved from the river by Akki the water-carrier (a name much resembling Acca) and brought up as his own son. When old enough he joined a rustic people and became their king, and afterwards a powerful monarch (*sar dannu*).

The god Dionysus when an infant was placed in an ark and thrown into the sea. The waves cast him ashore on the coast of Brasiaë in Laconia (Pausanias). Cyrus, son of a princess, but brought up by a herdsman as his own son; elected king (though in sport) by his rustic companions; afterwards the founder of a great monarchy, has some points of similarity with the tale of Sargina: but the circumstance of the ark on the river is wanting.

These examples show that similar tales were current in antiquity concerning the infancy of many great sovereigns or legislators.

The date of Sargina's reign is very uncertain, but he lived probably about 15 or 16 centuries before the Christian era. I conjecture that this inscription was written upon the pedestal of his statue.

INFANCY OF SARGINA I.

- 1 I AM SARGINA the great King ; the King of Agani.
- 2 My mother knew not my father :¹ my family were the rulers of the land.
- 3 My city was the city of Atzu-pirani² which is on the banks of the river Euphrates.
- 4 My mother conceived me : in a secret place she brought me forth :
- 5 she placed me in an ark of bulrushes : with bitumen my door she closed up :
- 6 she threw me into the river, which did not enter into the ark to me.
- 7 The river carried me : to the dwelling of AKKI the water-carrier³ it brought me.
- 8 AKKI the water-carrier in his goodness of heart lifted me up from the river.

¹ Considering that his mother belonged to the royal family, that she was delivered in secret, and that the child was abandoned, this passage affords a strong confirmation of certain statements made by Herodotus concerning the customs of the Babylonians: and it is also alluded to in the book of Baruch. Compare also the story of Rhea Sylvia the mother of Romulus, who was a king's daughter: the unknown father, and the abandonment of the child.

² Atzu-pirani. The latter part of the name is the Chaldee *Birani* meaning Citadel, Tower, or Palace.

³ A water-carrier was a labourer of the lowest and meanest class, as we see from Joshua ix. 21: "And the princes said unto them, Let them live: but let them be bearers of wood and drawers of water unto all the congregation." And again, verses 23 and 27, "There shall none of you be freed from being bondmen and hewers of wood and drawers of water."

- 9 AKKI the water-carrier brought me up as his own son.
10 AKKI the water-carrier placed me with a tribe of
Foresters.¹
11 Of this tribe of Foresters ISHTAR² made me King :
12 and for³ years I reigned over them.

[The rest of the inscription, consisting of several lines which are much broken, says that during his reign Sargina introduced civilization, or great improvements. But this part has not a mythic character, and is of less interest.]⁴

¹ These Woodmen or Foresters were probably a rude race of men. Sargina became the captain of the band.

² Ishtar was the Babylonian Venus.

³ Lacuna.

⁴ See pp. 56, 57, of this volume.



INSCRIPTION OF TIGLATH PILESER I, KING OF ASSYRIA.

TRANSLATED BY

SIR H. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., D.C.L., etc.

THIS inscription of Tiglath Pileser I, is found on an octagonal prism and on some other clay fragments discovered at Kalah-Shergat and at present in the British Museum. The text is published in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. I, p. ix-xvi. Four translations of this inscription made simultaneously in 1857 by Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks and Dr. Oppert were published in that year under the title of *Inscription of Tiglath Pileser I, King of Assyria, B.C. 1150*. 8vo., Lond., 1857. Dr. Oppert has also given a revised translation in his *Histoire de l'Empire de Chaldée et d'Assyrie*, 8vo., Versailles, 1865, extracted from the *Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne* of the same year 5e Series, p. 44 and foll. The translations simultaneously published were submitted to the Asiatic

Society in that year as a test of the advance made in Assyrian interpretations and the close approximation made by scholars in their interpretation of Assyrian texts. The notes contain some of the different readings of the other Assyrian scholars at that time and give a few of the principal varieties of reading some of the words. It was generally considered a very triumphant demonstration of the sound basis on which the then comparatively recent Assyrian researches were placed and a confutation of certain opinions then prevalent, that no certain or accurate advance had been made in the decipherment of Assyrian inscriptions. On the whole for its extent and historical information relating to the early history of Assyria this inscription is one of the most important of the series showing the gradual advance and rise of Assyria, while as one of the first interpreted it presents considerable literary interest in respect to the details of the progress of Assyrian interpretation. It is also nearly the oldest Assyrian text of any length which has been hitherto discovered and is very interesting from its account of the construction of the temples and palaces made by the king in the early part of his reign.

S. B.

INSCRIPTION OF TIGLATH PILESER I.

I THE BEGINNING.

Ashur, the great Lord, ruling supreme over the gods; the giver of sceptres and crowns; the appointer of sovereignty. BEL, the Lord; *King of the circle of constellations*;¹ Father of the gods; Lord of the world. SIN;² the leader the *Lord of Empire* the *powerful* the *auspicious* god; *Shamas*;³ the establisher of the heavens and the earth;;⁴ the vanquisher of enemies; the dissolver of cold. *Vul*;⁵ he who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands and *wicked* countries. *Abnil*⁶ HERCULES; the champion who subdues *heretics* and enemies, and who strengthens the heart. *Ishtar*, the eldest⁷ of the gods; the Queen of *Victory*; she who arranges battles.

II.

The great gods, ruling over the heavens and the earth, whose attributes I have recorded and whom I have *named*; the guardians of the kingdom of TIGLATH PILESER, the Prince inspiring your hearts with *joy*; the proud Chief whom in the strength of your hearts ye have made firm, (to whom) ye have confided the supreme crown, (whom) ye have appointed in might to the sovereignty of the country of BEL, to whom ye have granted pre-eminence, exaltation, and warlike power. May the duration of his empire continue for ever to his royal posterity, lasting as the great temple of BEL !

¹ Aratnaki. Fox Talbot.² The moon.³ The sun.⁴ Lacuna.⁵ Ninev. Fox Talbot. Ao. Dr. Oppert.⁶ Ninip-Sumdan. Dr. Oppert.⁷ Or source.

III.

TIGLATH PILESER the powerful king ; supreme King of Lashanan;¹ King of the four regions ; King of all Kings ; Lord of Lords ; the *supreme* ; Monarch of Monarchs ; the illustrious Chief who under the auspices of the SUN GOD, being armed with the sceptre and girt with the girdle of power over mankind, rules over all the people of BEL ; the mighty Prince whose praise is blazoned forth among the Kings : the exalted sovereign, whose servants ASHUR has appointed to the government of the country of the four regions (and) has made his name celebrated to posterity ; the conqueror of many plains and mountains of the Upper and Lower Country ; the conquering hero, the terror of whose name has overwhelmed all regions ; the bright constellation who, according to his power² has warred against foreign countries (and) under the auspices of BEL, there being no equal to him, has subdued the enemies of ASHUR.³

IV.

ASHUR (and) the great gods, the guardians of my kingdom, who gave government and laws to my dominions, and ordered an enlarged frontier to their territory, having committed to (my) hand their valiant and warlike servants, I have subdued the lands and the peoples and the strong places, and the Kings who were hostile to ASHUR ; and I have reduced all that was contained in them. With a host⁴ of kings I have fought . . .⁵ and have imposed on them the bond of *servitude*. There is not to me a second in war, nor an equal in battle. I have added territory to Assyria and peoples to her people. I have enlarged the frontier of my territories, and subdued all the lands contained in them.⁶

¹ "Various tongues." Talbot.

² Or "as he wished."

³ Or "has made them obedient to Ashur."

⁴ The Preamble concludes here.

⁵ Lacuna.

⁶ Literally, "a sixty."

V.

In the beginning of my reign 20,000 of the *Muskayans*¹ and their 5 kings, who for 50 years had held the countries of Alza and Perukhuz, without paying tribute and offerings to ASHUR my Lord, and whom a King of Assyria had never ventured to meet in battle betook themselves to their strength, and went and seized the country of Comukha. In the service of ASHUR my Lord my chariots and warriors I assembled after me . . .² the country of *Kasiyaia*,³ a difficult country, I passed through. With their 20,000 fighting men and their 5 kings in the country of Comukha I engaged. I defeated them. The ranks of their warriors in fighting the battle were beaten down as if by the tempest. Their carcasses covered the valleys and the tops of the mountains. I cut off their heads. The battlements of their cities I made heaps of, like mounds of *earth*, their movables, their wealth, and their valuables I plundered to a countless amount. 6000 of their common soldiers who fled before my servants and accepted my yoke, I took them, and gave them over to the men of my own territory.⁴

VI.

Then I went into the country of *Comukha*,⁵ which was disobedient and withheld the tribute and offerings due to ASHUR my Lord: I conquered the whole country of Comukha. I plundered their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables. Their cities I burnt with fire, I destroyed and ruined. The common people of Comukha, who fled before the face of my servants, crossed over to the city of *Sherisha*,⁶ which was on the further banks of the Tigris, and made this city into their stronghold. I assembled my chariots and warriors. I betook myself to *carts of iron*⁷

¹ Sirki citizens. Fox Talbot. ² Lacuna. ³ Mount Kasiyaia. Dr. Hincks.

⁴ As slaves.

⁵ Dummuk. Dr. Oppert.

⁶ Sharisha. Fox Talbot. Siris. Dr. Hincks. ⁷ Bridge. Fox Talbot.

in order to overcome the rough mountains and their difficult marches. I made the wilderness (thus) practicable for the passage of my chariots and warriors. I crossed the Tigris and took the city of Sherisha their stronghold. Their fighting men, in the middle of the forests, like wild beasts, I smote. Their carcasses filled the Tigris, and the tops of the mountains. At this time the troops of the *Akhe*,¹ who came to the deliverance and assistance of Comukha, together with the troops of Comukha, like chaff I scattered. The carcasses of their fighting men I piled up like heaps on the tops of the mountains. The bodies of their warriors, the *roaring*² waters carried down to the Tigris. KILI TERU son of KALI TERU, son of ZARUPIN ZIHUSUN, their King,³ in the course of their fighting fell into my power. His wives and his children, the delight of his heart I dispossessed him of. 180⁴ iron vessels and 5 trays of copper, together with the gods of the people in gold and silver, and their beds and furniture I brought away. Their moveables and their wealth I plundered. This city and its palace I burnt with fire, I destroyed and ruined.

VII.

The city of *Urrakluiras* their stronghold which was in the country of Panari, I went towards. The exceeding fear of the power of ASHUR, my Lord, overwhelmed them. To save their lives they took their gods, and fled like birds to the tops of the lofty mountains. I collected my chariots and warriors, and crossed the Tigris. *Shedi Teru*⁵ the son of *Khasutkh*,⁶ King of *Urrakluiras* on my arriving in his

¹ Aliens. Dr. Hincks.

² Nami River. Fox Talbot. Blood River. Dr. Hincks.

³ Tirikali fil Tirikali. Fox Talbot. Kiliantiru eldest son of Campineiyusan. Dr. Hincks.

⁴ Literally, "three sixties."

⁵ Sadiyantim. Dr. Hincks. Tiridates. Fox Talbot.

⁶ Kuthakin. Fox Talbot. Khathukhi. Dr. Hincks.

country submitted to my yoke. His sons, the delight of his heart, and his favourites, I condemned to the service of the gods: 60 vessels of iron; *trays*¹ and *bars* of copper . . .² with 120 cattle, and flocks he brought as tribute and offerings. I accepted (them) and spared him. I gave him his life, but imposed upon him the yoke of my empire heavily for ever. The wide spreading country of Comukha I entirely conquered, and subjected to my yoke. At this time one tray of copper and one bar of copper from among the service offerings and tribute of Comukha I dedicated to ASHUR my Lord, and 60 iron vessels with their gods I offered to my guardian god, *Vul*.³

VIII.

From amongst my valiant servants, to whom ASHUR the Lord gave strength and power, in 30 of my chariots, select companies of my troops and bands of my warriors who were expert in battle, I gathered together. I proceeded to the extensive country of *Miltis*³ which did not obey me; it consisted of strong mountains and a difficult land. Where it was easy I traversed it in my chariots: where it was difficult I went on foot. In the country of Aruma, which was a difficult land, and impracticable to the passage of my chariots, I left the chariots and marched in front of my troops. Like . . .² on the peak of the rugged mountains, I marched victoriously. The country of *Miltis*,⁴ like heaps of stubble, I swept. Their fighting men in the course of the battle like chaff I scattered. Their moveables, their wealth and their valuables I plundered. Many of their cities I burned with fire. I imposed on them *religious service*,⁵ and offerings and tribute.

¹ *Nirmah mamkhar*. Dr. Hincks.² Lacuna.³ *Yem*. Fox Talbot.⁴ *Eshtish*. Fox Talbot.⁵ Hostages. Fox Talbot. For further and subsequent various readings, see the Edition of 1857.

IX.

TIGLATH PILESER, the illustrious warrior, the opener of the roads of the countries, the subjugator of the rebellious . . .¹ he who has overrun the whole Magian world.

X.

I subdued the extensive country of Subair, which was in rebellion. The countries of Alza and Purukhuz, which deferred their tribute and offerings, the yoke of my empire heavily upon them I imposed, decreeing that they should bring their tribute and offerings into my presence in the city of Ashur. While I was on this expedition, which the Lord ASHUR, committing to my hand a powerful rebel subduing army, ordered for the enlargement of the frontiers of his territory, there were 4000 of the *Kaskaya* and *Hurunaya* rebellious tribes of the Kheti² who had brought under their power the cities of Subarta, attached to the worship of ASHUR, my Lord (so that) they did not acknowledge dependence on Subarta. The terror of my warlike expedition overwhelmed them. They would not fight, but submitted to my yoke. Then I took their valuables, and 120³ of their chariots fitted to the yoke, and I gave them to the men of my own country.

XI.

In the course of this my expedition, a second time I proceeded to the country of Comukha. I took many of their cities. Their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I plundered. Their cities I burnt with fire, I destroyed and overthrew. The soldiers of their armies, who from before the face of my valiant servants fled away, they would not engage with me in the fierce battle : to save their lives they took to the stony heights of the mountains, an

¹ Lacuna.² Hittites.³ Two *soos*.

inaccessible region : to the recesses of the deep forests and the peaks of the difficult mountains which had never been trodden by the feet of men, I ascended after them : they fought with me ; I defeated them : the ranks of their warriors on the tops of the mountains fell like rain : their carcases filled the ravines and the high places of the mountains : their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I carried off from the stony heights of the mountains. I subdued the country of Comukha throughout its whole extent, and I attached it to the frontiers of my own territory.

XII.

TIGLATH PILESER, the powerful King, the vanquisher of the disobedient, he who has swept the face of the earth.

XIII.

In profound reverence to ASHUR my Lord, to the country of Kharia, and the far-spreading tribes of the Akhe, deep forests, which no former King (of Assyria) had ever reached, the Lord ASHUR invited me to proceed. My chariots and forces I assembled, and I went to an inaccessible region beyond the countries of Itni and Ayá. As the steep mountains stood up like metal posts, and were impracticable to the passage of my chariots, I placed my chariots in waggons, and (thus) I traversed the difficult ranges of hills. All the lands of the Akhe and their wide-spreading tribes having assembled, arose to do battle in the country of *Azutapis*. In an inaccessible region I fought with them and defeated them. The ranks of their (slain) warriors on the peaks of the mountains were piled up in heaps ; the carcases of their warriors filled the ravines and high places of the mountains. To the cities which were placed on the tops of the mountains I *penetrated* victoriously : 27 cities of Kharia, which were situated in the districts of

Aya, Suira, Itni, Shetzu, Shelgu, Arzanibru, Varutsu, and Anitku, I took; their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I plundered; their cities I burnt with fire, I destroyed and overthrew.

XIV.

The people of Adavas feared to engage in battle with me; they left their habitations, and fled like birds to the peaks of the lofty mountains. The terror of ASHUR my Lord overwhelmed them; they came and submitted to my yoke; I imposed on them tribute and offerings.

XV.

The countries of Tsaravas and Ammavas, which from the olden time had never submitted, I swept like heaps of stubble; with their forces in the country of Aruma I fought, and I defeated them. The ranks of their fighting men I levelled like grass. I bore away their gods; their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I carried off. Their cities I burnt with fire, I destroyed and overthrew, and converted into heaps and mounds. The heavy yoke of my empire I imposed on them. I attached them to the worship of ASHUR my Lord.

XVI.

I took the countries of Itsua and Daria, which were turbulent and disobedient. Tribute and offerings I imposed on them. I attached them to the worship of ASHUR.

XVII.

In my triumphant progress over my enemies, my chariots and troops I assembled; I crossed the lower Zab. The countries of Muraddan and Tsaradavas, which were near Atsaniu and Atúva, difficult regions, I captured; their warriors I cut down *like weeds*. The city of Muraddan, their capital city, and the regions towards the rising sun,

I took possession of. Their gods, their wealth, and their valuables, one *šoss* bars of iron, 30 talents of iron, the abundant wealth of the Lords, of their palaces, and their moveables, I carried off. This city I burnt with fire, I destroyed and overthrew. At this time this iron to the god VUL, my great Lord and guardian, I dedicated.

XVIII.

In the might and power of ASHUR my Lord, I went to the country of Tsugi, belonging to Gilkhi, which did not acknowledge ASHUR my Lord. With 4000 of their troops, belonging to the countries Khimi, Lukhi, Arirgi, Alamun, Nuni, and all the far-spread land of the *Akhi*, in the country of Khirikhi, a difficult region, which rose up like metal posts, with all their people I fought *on foot*. I defeated them; the bodies of their fighting men on the tops of the mountains I heaped in masses. The carcasses of their warriors I strewed over the country of Khirikhi like chaff. I took the entire country of Tsugi. 25 of their gods, their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I carried off. Many of their cities I burnt with fire, I destroyed and overthrew. The men of their armies submitted to my yoke. I had mercy on them. I imposed on them tribute and offerings. With attachment to the worship of ASHUR, my Lord, I entrusted them.¹

XIX.

At this time 25 of the gods belonging to those countries, subject to my government, which I had taken, I dedicated for the honor of the temple of the Queen of glory, the great ancestress of ASHUR my Lord, of ANU, and of VUL, the goddess who is the guardian of all the public temples of my city of ASHUR, and of all the goddesses of my country.

¹ That is, "I caused them to worship Ashur."

XX.

TIGLATH-PILESER, the powerful King ; the subduer of hostile races ; the conqueror of the whole circle of kings.

XXI.

At this time, in exalted reverence to ASHUR, my Lord, by the godlike support of the heroic "SUN," having in the service of the great gods, ruled over the four regions imperially ; there being found (to me) no equal in war, and no second in battle, to the countries of the powerful Kings who dwelt upon the upper ocean and had never made their submission, the Lord ASHUR having urged me, I went. Difficult mountain chains, and distant (or inaccessible) hills, which none of our Kings had ever previously reached, tedious paths and unopened roads I traversed. The countries of Elama, of Amadana, of Eltis, of Sherabili, of *Likhuna*, of Tirkakhuli, of Kisra, of Likhanubi, of Elula, of Khastare, of Sakhisara, of Hubira, of Miliatruni, of *Sulianzi*, of Nubanáshe, and of Sheshe, 16 strong countries, the easy parts in my chariots, and the difficult parts in waggons of iron, I passed through ; the thickets of the mountains I cut down ; bridges for the passage of my troops I prepared ; I crossed over the Euphrates ; the King of Elammi, the King of Tunubi, the King of Tuhali, the King of Kindari, the King of Huzula, the King of Vanzamuni, the King of Andiabi, the King of Pilakinna, the King of Atúrgina, the King of Kulibartzini, the King of Pinibirni, the King of Khimua, the King of Páteri, the King of Vafram, the King of Sururia, the King of Abáéni, the King of Adáéni, the King of Kirini, the King of Albaya, the King of Vagina, the King of Nazabia, the King of *Amalziú*, the King of Dayeni, in all 23 Kings of the countries of Naíri, in their own provinces having assembled their chariots and troops, they came to fight

with me.¹ By means of my powerful servants I straitened them.² I caused the destruction of their far-spreading troops, as if with the destroying tempest of VUL. I levelled the ranks of their warriors, both on the tops of the mountains and on the battlements of the cities, like *grass*. Two soss³ of their chariots I held as a trophy from the midst of the fight; one soss⁴ of the Kings of the countries of Naíri, and of those who had come to their assistance, in my victory as far as the upper ocean I pursued them; I took their great castles; I plundered their moveables, their wealth and their valuables; their cities I burnt with fire, I destroyed and overthrew, and converted into heaps and mounds. Drove of many horses and mules, of calves and of lambs, their property, in countless numbers I carried off. Many of the Kings of the countries of Naíri fell alive into my hands; to these Kings I granted pardon; their lives I spared; their abundance and wealth I poured out before my Lord, the Sun god. In reverence to my great gods, to after times, to the last day, I condemned them to do homage. The young men, the pride of their royalty, I gave over to the service of the gods; 1200 horses and 2000 cattle I imposed on them as tribute, and I allowed them to remain in their own countries.

XXII.

TSENI, the King of Dayáni, who was not submissive to ASHUR my Lord, his abundance and wealth I brought it to my city of ASHUR. I had mercy on him. I left him in life to learn the worship of the great gods from my city of Ashur. I reduced the far-spreading countries of Naíri throughout their whole extent, and many of their kings I subjected to my yoke.

XXIII.

In the course of this expedition, I went to the city of

¹ Literally, to make war and do battle.

² Or, brought them into difficulties.

³ 120.

⁴ 60.

Milidia, belonging to the country of Khanni-rabbi, which was independent and did not obey me. They abstained from engaging in the rude fight with me ; they submitted to my yoke, and I had mercy on them. This city I did not occupy, but I gave the people over to religious service, and I imposed on them as a token of their allegiance a fixed tribute of¹

XXIV.

TIGLATH-PILESER, the ruling constellation ; the powerful ; the lover of battle.

XXV.

In the service of my Lord ASHUR, my chariots and warriors I assembled ; I set out on my march. In front of my strong men I went to the country of the Aramæans, the enemies of my Lord ASHUR. From before Tsukha, as far as the city of Qarqamis² belonging to the country of Khatte,³ I smote with *one blow*. Their fighting men I slew ; their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables in countless numbers I carried off. The men of their armies who fled from before the face of the valiant servants of my Lord ASHUR, crossed over the Euphrates ; in boats covered with bitumen skins I crossed the Euphrates after them ; I took six of their cities which were below the country of Bisri ; I burnt them with fire, and I destroyed and overthrew ; and I brought their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables to my city of Ashur.

XXVI.

TIGLATH-PILESER, he who tramples upon the Magian world ; he who subdues the disobedient ; he who has overrun the whole earth.

XXVII.

My Lord ASHUR having urged me on, I took my way to

¹ Lacuna.² Carchemish.³ The Hittites.

the vast country of Muzri, lying beyond Elammi, Tala, and Kharutsa; I took the country of Muzri throughout its whole extent; I subdued their warriors; I burnt their cities with fire, I destroyed and overthrew; the troops of the country of Comani hastened to the assistance of the country of Muzri: in the mountains I fought with them and defeated them. In the metropolis, the city of Arin, which was under the country of Ayatsa, I besieged them; they submitted to my yoke; I spared this city; but I imposed on them religious service and tribute and offerings.

XXVIII.

At this time the whole country of Comani which was in alliance with the country of Muzri, all their people assembled and arose to do battle and make war. By means of my valiant servants I fought with 20,000 of their numerous troops in the country of Tala, and I defeated them; their mighty mass broke in pieces; as far as the country of Kharutsa, belonging to Muzri, I smote them and pursued; the ranks of their troops on the heights of the mountains I cut down *like grass* their carcases covered the valleys and the tops of the mountains; their great castles I took, I burnt with fire, I destroyed, and overthrew into heaps and mounds.

XXIX.

The city of Khunutsa, their stronghold, I overthrew like a heap of stubble. With their mighty troops in the city and on the hills I fought *fiercely*. I defeated them; their fighting men in the middle of the forests I scattered like *chaff*. I cut off their heads as if they were *carrion*; their carcases filled the valleys and (covered) the heights of the mountains. I captured this city; their gods, their wealth, and their valuables I carried off, and burnt with fire. Three of their great castles, which were built of brick, and the entire city I destroyed and overthrew, and converted

into heaps and mounds, and upon the site I laid down large stones ; and I made tablets of copper, and I wrote on them an account of the countries which I had taken by the help of my Lord ASHUR, and about the taking of this city, and the building of its castle ; and upon it¹ I built a house of brick, and I set up within it these copper tablets.

XXX.

In the service of ASHUR my Lord, my chariots and warriors I assembled, and I approached Kapshuna, their capital city ; the tribes of Comani would not engage in battle with me ; they submitted to my yoke, and I spared their lives. The great castle of the city and its brick buildings I trampled under foot ; from its foundations to its roofs I destroyed it and converted it into heaps and mounds, and a band of 300 fugitive heretics who did not acknowledge my Lord ASHUR, and who were expelled from inside this *castle*, I took this band and condemned to the service of the gods, and I imposed upon the people tribute and offerings in excess of their former tribute ; and the far-spreading country of Comani throughout its whole extent I reduced under my yoke.

XXXI.

There fell into my hands altogether between the commencement of my reign and my fifth year 42 countries, with their kings, from beyond the river Zab, plain, forest, and mountain, to beyond the river Euphrates, the country of the Khatte² and the upper ocean of the setting sun. I brought them under one government ; I placed them under the Magian religion, and I imposed on them tribute and offerings.

XXXII.

I have omitted many hunting expeditions which were not connected with my warlike achievements. In pursuing after the game I traversed the easy tracts in my chariots,

¹ "The stone foundation."

² Hittites.

and the difficult tracts on foot. I demolished the wild animals throughout my territories.¹

XXXIII.

TIGLATH-PILESER, the illustrious warrior, he who holds the sceptre of Lashanan; he who has extirpated all wild animals.

XXXIV.

The gods HERCULES and NERGAL gave their valiant servants and their *arrows* as a glory to support my empire. Under the auspices of HERCULES, my guardian deity, four wild bulls, strong and fierce, in the desert, in the country of Mitán, and in the city Arazik, belonging to the country of the Khatte,² with my long *arrows* tipped with iron, and with heavy blows I took their lives. Their skins and their horns I brought to my city of Ashur.

XXXV.

Ten large wild buffaloes in the country of Kharran, and the plains of the river Khabur, I slew. Four buffaloes I took alive; their skins and their horns, with the live buffaloes, I brought to my city of Ashur.

XXXVI.

Under the auspices of my guardian deity Hercules, two *sons* of lions fell before me. In the course of my progress on foot I slew them, and 800 lions in my chariots in my exploratory journeys I laid low. All the beasts of the field and the flying birds of heaven I made the victim of my shafts.³

XXXVII.

From all the enemies of ASHUR, the whole of them, I exacted *labour*. I made, and finished the repairs of, the temple of the goddess ASTARTE, my lady, and of the temple of MARTU, and of BEL, and IL, and of the sacred buildings and *shrines* of the gods belonging to my city of Ashur. I *purified* their shrines, and set up inside the images of

¹ A very difficult paragraph.

² Hittites.

³ A very doubtful sentence.

the great gods, my Lords. The royal palaces of all the great fortified cities throughout my dominions, which from the olden time our kings had neglected through long years, had become ruined. I repaired and finished them. The castles of my country, I filled up their *breaches*. I founded many new buildings throughout Assyria, and I opened out irrigation for corn in excess of what my fathers had done. I carried off the droves of the horses, cattle, and asses that I obtained, in the service of my Lord ASHUR, from the subjugated countries which I rendered tributary, and the droves of the wild goats and ibexes, the wild sheep and the wild cattle which ASHUR and HERCULES, my guardian gods, incited me to chase in the depths of the forests, having taken them I drove them off, and I led away their young ones like the tame young goats. These little *wild animals*, the delight of their parents' hearts, in the fulness of my own heart, together with my own victims, I sacrificed to my Lord ASHUR.

XXXVIII.

The pine, the,¹ and the *algum tree*, these trees which under the former kings my ancestors, they had never planted, I took them from the countries which I had rendered tributary, and I planted them in the groves of my own territories, and I *bought* fruit trees; whatever I did not find in my own country, I took and placed in the groves² of Assyria.

XXXIX.

I built chariots fitted to the yoke for the use of my people³ in excess of those which had existed before. I added territories to Assyria, and I added populations to her population. I improved the condition of the people, and I obtained for them abundance and security.

¹ Lacuna.² Or "orchards."³ Or "throughout my territories."

XL.

TIGLATH-PILESER, the illustrious prince, whom ASHUR and HERCULES have exalted to the utmost wishes of his heart; who has pursued after the enemies of ASHUR, and has subjugated all the earth.

XLI.

The son of ASHUR-RIS-ILI, the powerful King, the subduer of foreign countries, he who has reduced all the lands of the Magian world.

XLII.

The grandson of MUTAGGIL-NABU, whom ASHUR, the great Lord, aided according to the wishes of his *heart* and established in strength in the government of Assyria.

XLIII.

The glorious offspring of ASHUR-DAPUR-IL, who held the sceptre of dominion, and ruled over the people of BEL; who in all the works of his hand and the deeds of his life placed his reliance on the great gods, and thus obtained a prosperous and *long life*.

XLIV.

The beloved child¹ of BARZAN-PALAKURA, the king who first organized the country of Assyria, who purged his territories of the wicked as if they had been,² and established the troops of Assyria in authority.

XLV.

At this time the temple of ANU and VUL, the great gods, my Lords, which, in former times, SHANSI-VUL, High-priest of ASHUR, son of ISMI DAGAN, High-priest of ASHUR, had founded, having lasted for 641 years, it fell into ruin. ASHUR-DAPUR-IL, King of Assyria, son of BARZAN-PALA-KURA, King of Assyria, took down this temple and did not rebuild it. For 60 years the foundations of it were not laid.

¹ Or, "heart of hearts."

² Lacuna.

XLVI.

In the beginning of my reign, ANU and VUL, the great gods, my Lords, guardians of my steps, they invited me to repair this their shrine. So I made bricks; I levelled the earth, I took its *dimensions*; I laid down its foundations upon a mass of strong rock. This place throughout its whole extent I paved with bricks in *set order*, 50 feet deep I prepared the ground, and upon this substructure I laid the lower foundations of the temple of ANU and VUL. From its foundations to its roofs I built it up, better than it was before. I also built two lofty cupolas in honour of their noble godships, and the holy place, a spacious hall, I consecrated for the convenience of their worshippers, and to accommodate their votaries, who were numerous as the stars of heaven, and in quantity poured forth like flights of arrows.¹ I repaired, and built, and completed my work. Outside the temple I fashioned (everything with the same care) as inside. The mound of earth (on which it was built) I enlarged like the firmament of the rising stars, and I beautified the entire building. Its cupolas I raised up to heaven, and its roofs I built entirely of brick. An inviolable shrine for their noble godships I laid down near at hand. ANU and VUL, the great gods, I glorified inside² I set them up in their honoured purity, and the hearts of their noble godships I delighted.

XLVII.

BIT-KHAMRI, the temple of my Lord VUL, which SHANSI-VUL, High-priest of ASHUR, son of ISMI-DAGAN, High-priest of ASHUR, had founded, became ruined. I levelled its site, and from its foundation to its roofs I built it up of brick, I enlarged it beyond its former state, and I adorned it. Inside of it I sacrificed precious victims to my Lord VUL.

¹ Very doubtful.

² The shrine.

XLVIII.

At this time I found various sorts of stone¹ in the countries of Naïri, which I had taken by the help of ASHUR, my Lord, and I placed them in the temple of BIT-KHAMRI, belonging to my Lord, VUL, to remain there for ever.

XLIX.

Since a holy place, a noble hall, I have thus consecrated for the use of the great gods, my Lords ANU and VUL, and have laid down an adytum for their special worship, and have finished it successfully, and have delighted the hearts of their noble godships, may ANU and VUL preserve me in power. May they support the men of my Government. May they establish the authority of my officers. May they bring the rain, the joy of the year, on the cultivated land and the desert during my time. In war and in battle may they preserve me victorious. Many foreign countries, turbulent nations, and hostile Kings I have reduced under my yoke; to my children and descendants may they keep them in firm allegiance. I will lead my steps, firm as the mountains, to the last days before ASHUR and their noble godships.

L.

The list of my victories and the catalogue of my triumphs over foreigners hostile to ASHUR, which ANU and VUL have granted to my arms, I have inscribed on my tablets and cylinders, and I have placed them to the last days in the temple of my Lords ANU and VUL, and the tablets of SHAMSI-VUL, my ancestor, I have raised altars and sacrificed victims (before them), and set them up in their places.

LI.

In after times, and in the latter days,^{*} if the temple of the great gods, my Lords ANU and VUL, and these shrines should become old and fall into decay, may the prince who comes after me repair the ruins. May

¹ The particular sorts cannot be identified.

^{*} Lacuna.

he raise altars and sacrifice victims before my tablets and cylinders, and may he set them up again in their places, and may he inscribe his name on them together with my name. As ANU and VUL, the great gods, have ordained, may he worship honestly with a good heart and full trust.

LII.

Whoever shall abrade or injure my tablets and cylinders, or shall moisten them with water, or scorch them with fire, or expose them to the air, or in the holy place of god shall assign them a position where they cannot be seen or understood, or who shall erase the writing and inscribe his own name, or who shall divide the sculptures, and break them off from my tablets,

LIII.

ANU and VUL, the great gods, my Lords, let them consign his name to perdition; let them curse him with an irrevocable curse; let them cause his sovereignty to perish; let them pluck out the stability of the throne of his empire; let not offspring survive him in the kingdom;¹ let his servants be broken; let his troops be defeated; let him fly vanquished before his enemies. May VUL in his fury tear up the produce of his land. May a scarcity of food and of the necessities of life afflict his country. For one day may he not be called happy. May his name and his race perish in the land.

In the month of *Kuzallu*,² on the 29th day, in the High Priesthood of *Ina-iliya-hallik*, (entitled) *Rabbi-turi*.

¹ Doubtful and faulty in text.

² Chisleu.

THE BLACK OBELISK
INSCRIPTION OF SHALMANESER II.

TRANSLATED BY

REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

THIS inscription is engraved on an obelisk of black marble, 5 feet in height, found by Mr. Layard in the centre of the Mound at Nimroud, and now in the British Museum. Each of its four sides is divided into five compartments of sculpture representing the tribute brought to the Assyrian king by vassal princes, Jehu of Israel being among the number. Shalmaneser, whose annals and conquests are recorded upon it, was the son of Assur-natsir-pal, and died in 823 B.C., after a reign of 35 years. A

translation of the inscription was one of the first achievements of Assyrian decipherment, and was made by Sir H. Rawlinson; and Dr. Hincks shortly afterwards (in 1851) succeeded in reading the name of Jehu in it. M. Oppert translated the inscription in his *Histoire des Empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie* and M. Ménant has given another rendering of it in his *Annales des Rois d'Assyrie* (1874). A copy of the text will be found in Layard's *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character* (1851).



BLACK OBELISK OF SHALMANESER.

FACE A.

- 1 ASSUR, the great Lord, the King of all
 2 the great gods; ANU, King of the spirits of heaven
 3 and the spirits of earth, the god, Lord of the world;
 BEL,
 4 the Supreme, Father of the gods, the Creator;
 5 HEA, King of the deep, determiner of destinies, .
 6 the King of crowns, drinking in brilliance;
 7 RIMMON, the *crowned* hero, Lord of canals;¹ the
 SUN-GOD,
 8 the Judge of heaven and earth, the urger on of all;
 9 (MERODACH), Prince of the gods, Lord of battles;
 ADAR, the terrible,
 10 (Lord) of the spirits of heaven and the spirits of earth,
 the exceeding strong god; NERGAL,
 11 the powerful (god), King of the battle; NEBO, the
 bearer of the high sceptre,
 12 the god, the Father above; BELTIS, the wife of BEL,
 mother of the (great) gods;
 13 ISTAR, sovereign of heaven and earth, who the face of
 heroism perfectest;
 14 the great (gods), determining destinies, making great
 my kingdom.
 15 (I am) SHALMANESER, King of multitudes of men,
 prince (and) hero of ASSUR, the strong King,
 16 King of all the four zones of the Sun (and) of multi-
 tudes of men, the marcher over
 17 the whole world; Son of ASSUR-NATSIR-PAL, the
 supreme hero, who his heroism over the gods

¹ Or, "fertility."

18 has made good and has caused all the world¹ to kiss
his feet ;

FACE B.

19 the noble offspring of TIGLATH-ADAR
20 who has laid his yoke upon all lands hostile to him,
and
21 has swept (them) like a whirlwind.
22 At the beginning of my reign, when on the throne
23 of royalty mightily I had seated myself, the chariots
24 of my host I collected. Into the lowlands² of the
country of 'Sime'si
25 I descended. The city of Aridu, the strong city
26 of NINNI, I took. In my first year
27 the Euphrates in its flood I crossed. To the sea of
the setting sun³
28 I went. My weapons on the sea I rested. Victims
29 for my gods I took.⁴ To mount Amanus⁵ I went up.
30 Logs of cedar-wood and pine-wood I cut. To
31 the country of Lallar I ascended. An image of my
Royalty in the midst (of it) I erected.
32 In my second year to the city of Tel-Barsip I ap-
proached. The cities
33 of AKHUNI the son of ADIN I captured. In his city I
shut him up. The Euphrates
34 in its flood I crossed. The city of Dabigu, a choice
city of the Hittites
35 together with the cities which (were) dependent upon
it I captured. In my third year AKHUNI
36 the son of ADIN, from the face of my mighty weapons
fled, and the city of Tel-Barsip,

FACE. C.

37 his royal city, he fortified. The Euphrates I crossed.

¹ Or, "the countries the whole of them."

² Or, "the descendings."

³ That is, the Mediterranean.

⁴ Namely, in sacrifice.

⁵ *Khamanu* in Assyrian.

- 38 The city unto Assyria I restored. I took it. (The
 town) which (is) on the further side
 39 of the Euphrates which (is) upon the river 'Sagurri,
 which the Kings
 40 of the Hittites call the city of Pitru,¹
 41 for myself I took. At my return
 42 into the lowlands of the country of Alzi I descended.
 The country of Alzi I conquered.
 43 The countries of Dayaeni (and) Elam, (and) the city
 of Arzascunu, the royal city
 44 of ARAME of the country of the Armenians, the country
 of Gozan (and) the country of Khupuscia.
 45 During the eponymy of DAYAN-ASSUR from the city of
 Nineveh I departed. The Euphrates
 46 in its upper part I crossed. After AKHUNI the son of
 ADIN I went.
 47 The heights on the banks of the Euphrates as his
 stronghold he made.
 48 The mountains I attacked, I captured. AKHUNI with
 his gods, his chariots,
 49 his horses, his sons (and) his daughters I carried
 away. To my city Assur
 50 I brought (them). In that same year the country of
 Kullar I crossed. To the country of Zamua
 51 of Bit-Ani I went down. The cities of NIGDIARA of
 the city of the Idians
 52 (and) NIGDIMA I captured. In my fifth year to the
 country of Kasyari I ascended.
 53 The strongholds I captured. ELKHITTI of the Seru-
 rians (in) his city I shut up. His tribute
 54 to a large amount I received. In my sixth year to the
 cities on the banks of the river Balikhi

FACE D.

- 55 I approached. GI'AMMU, their Governor, I smote.

¹ Pethor in the Old Testament.

- 56 To the city of Tel-abil-akhi I descended.
 57 The Euphrates in its upper part I crossed.
 58 The tribute of the Kings of the Hittites
 59 all of them I received. In those days RIMMON-IDRI¹
 60 of Damascus, IRKHULINA of Hamath, and the Kings
 61 of the Hittites and of the sea-coasts to the forces of
 each other
 62 trusted, and to make war and battle
 63 against me came. By the command of ASSUR, the
 great Lord, my Lord,
 64 with them I fought. A destruction of them I made.
 65 Their chariots, their war-carriages, their war-material² I
 took from them.
 66 20,500 of their fighting men with arrows I slew.
 67 In my seventh year to the cities of KHABINI of the
 city of Tel-Abni I went.
 68 The city of Tel-Abni, his stronghold, together with the
 cities which (were) dependent on it I captured.
 69 To the head of the river, the springs of the Tigris, the
 place where the waters rise,³ I went.
 70 The weapons of ASSUR in the midst (of it) I rested.
 Sacrifices for my gods I took. Feasts and rejoicing
 71 I made. An image of my Royalty of large size I
 constructed. The laws of ASSUR my Lord, the records
 72 of my victories, whatsoever in the world I had done,
 in the midst of it I wrote. In the middle (of the
 country) I set (it) up.

FACE A., *base*.

- 73 In my eighth year, MERODACH-SUMA-IDDIN King of
 of Gan-Dunias⁴

¹ This is the Ben-hadad of Scripture whose personal name seems to have been Rimmon-idri.

² Or, "furniture of battle."

³ Or, "the place of the exit of the waters situated." The tablet is still to be seen near the town of Egil.

⁴ That is, Chaldea.

- 74 did MERODACH-BILA-YU'SATE his *foster*-brother against him rebel ;
- 75 strongly had he fortified (the land). To exact punishment¹
- 76 against MERODACH-SUMA-IDDIN I went. The city of the waters of the Dhurnat² I took.
- 77 In my ninth campaign a second time to the land of Accad I went.
- 78 The city of Gana-nate I besieged. MERODACH-BILA-YU'SATE exceeding fear
- 79 of ASSUR (and) MERODACH overwhelmed, and to save his life to
- 80 the mountains he ascended. After him I rode. MERODACH-BILA-YU'SATE (and) the officers
- 81 the rebels³ who (were) with him (with) arrows I slew. To the great fortresses
- 82 I went. Sacrifices in Babylon, Borsippa, (and) Cuthah I made.
- 83 Thanksgivings to the great gods I offered up. To the country of Kaldu⁴ I descended. Their cities I captured.
- 84 The tribute of the Kings of the country of Kaldu I received. The greatness of my arms as far as the sea overwhelmed.
- 85 In my tenth year for the eighth time the Euphrates I crossed. The cities of 'SANGARA of the city of the Carchemishians I captured.
- 86 To the cities of Arame I approached. Arne his royal city with 100 of his (other) towns I captured.
- 87 In my eleventh year for the ninth time the Euphrates I crossed. Cities to a countless number I captured. To the cities of the Hittites
- 88 of the land of the Hamathites I went down. Eighty-

¹ Or, "to return benefits."

² The Tornadotus of classical geographers.

³ Or, "the Lord of sin."

⁴ This is the primitive Chaldea. The Caldai or Chaldeans afterwards overran Babylonia and gave their name to it among classical writers.

- nine cities I took. RIMMON-IDRI of Damascus (and) twelve of the Kings of the Hittites
 89 with one another's forces strengthened themselves. A destruction of them I made. In my twelfth campaign for the tenth time the Euphrates I crossed.
 90 To the land of Pagar-khubuna I went. Their spoil I carried away. In my thirteenth year to the country of Yaeti I ascended.
 91 Their spoil I carried away. In my fourteenth year the country I assembled; the Euphrates I crossed. Twelve Kings against me had come.
 92 I fought. A destruction of them I made. In my fifteenth year among the sources of the Tigris (and) the Euphrates I went. An image
 93 of my Majesty in their hollows I erected. In my sixteenth year the waters of the Zab I crossed. To the country of Zimri
 94 I went. MERODACH-MUDAMMIK King of the land of Zimru to save his life (the mountains) ascended. His treasure
 95 his army (and) his gods to Assyria I brought. YAN'SU son of KHANBAN to the kingdom over them I raised.¹

FACE B., *base*.

- 96 In my seventeenth year the Euphrates I crossed. To the land of Amanus I ascended. Logs
 97 of *cedar* I cut. In my eighteenth year for the sixteenth time the Euphrates I crossed. HAZAEL
 98 of Damascus to battle came. 1,221 of his chariots, 470 of his war-carriages with
 99 his camp I took from him. In my nineteenth campaign for the eighteenth² time the Euphrates I crossed. To the land of Amanus
 100 I ascended. Logs of cedar I cut. In my 20th year for the 20th time the Euphrates

¹ Or, "I made."² The king counts his passage of the river on his return from Syria the seventeenth time of his crossing the Euphrates.

- 101 I crossed. To the land of Kāhue I went down.
 Their cities I captured. Their spoil
- 102 I carried off. In my 21st campaign, for the 21st
 time the Euphrates I crossed. To the cities
- 103 of HAZAEL of Damascus I went. Four of his for-
 tresses I took. The tribute of the Tyrians,
- 104 the Zidonians (and) the Gebalites I received. In my
 22nd campaign for the 22nd time the Euphrates
- 105 I crossed. To the country of Tabalu¹ I went down.
 In those days (as regards) the 24
- 106 Kings of the country of Tabalu their wealth I
 received. To conquer
- 107 the mines of silver, of salt and of stone for sculpture
 I went. In my 23rd year
- 108 the Euphrates I crossed. The city of Uetas, his
 strong city,
- 109 (which belonged) to LALLA of the land of the Mili-
 dians I captured. The Kings of the country of Tabalu
- 110 had set out. Their tribute I received. In my 24th
 year, the lower Zab
- 111 I crossed. The land of Khalimmur I passed through.
 To the land of Zimru
- 112 I went down. YAN'SU King of the Zimri from the face
 113 of my mighty weapons fled and to save his life
- 114 ascended (the mountains). The cities of 'Sikhisatakh,
 Bit-Tamul, Bit-Sacci
- 115 (and) Bit-Sedi, his strong cities, I captured. His
 fighting men I slew.
- 116 His spoil I carried away. The cities I threw down,
 dug up, (and) with fire burned.
- 117 The rest of them to the mountains ascended. The
 peaks of the mountains
- 118 I attacked, I captured. Their fighting men I slew.
 Their spoil (and) their goods

¹ The Tubal of the Old Testament and Tibareni of classical geographers.

- 119 I caused to be brought down. From the country of
 Zimru I departed. The tribute of 27 Kings
 120 of the country of Par'sua¹ I received. From the
 country of Par'sua I departed. To
 121 the strongholds of the country of the Amadai,² (and)
 the countries of Arazias (and) Kharkhar I went down.
 122 The cities of Cua-cinda, Khazzanabi, Ermul,
 123 (and) Cin-ablila with the cities which were dependent
 on them I captured. Their fighting men

FACE C., *base*.

- 124 I slew. Their spoil I carried away. The cities I
 threw down, dug up (and) burned with fire. An image
 of my Majesty
 125 in the country of Kharkhāra I set up. YAN'SU son of
 KHABAN with his abundant treasures
 126 his gods, his sons, his daughters, his soldiers in large
 numbers I carried off. To Assyria I brought (them). In
 my 25th campaign
 127 the Euphrates at its flood I crossed. The tribute of
 the Kings of the Hittites, all of them, I received. The
 country of Amanus
 128 I traversed. To the cities of Catī of the country of
 the Kahuians I descended. The city of Timur, his
 strong city,
 129 I besieged, I captured. Their fighting men I slew.
 Its spoil I carried away. The cities to a countless
 number I threw down, dug up,
 130 (and) burned with fire. On my return, the city of
 Mūru, the strong city of ARAME the son of AGU'SI,
 131 (as) a possession for myself I took. Its entrance-
 space I marked out. A palace, the seat of my Majesty,
 in the middle (of it) I founded.
 132 In my 26th year for the seventh time the country of

¹ The Parthia of classical authors.

² These seem to be the Madai or Medes of later inscriptions. This is the first notice that we have of them. It will be observed that they have not yet penetrated into Media but are still eastward of the Parthians.

- the Amanus I traversed. For the fourth time to the cities of Cati
- 133 of the country of the Kahuians I went. The city of Tanacun, the strong city of TULCA I approached. Exceeding fear
- 134 of ASSUR my Lord overwhelmed him and (when) he had come out my feet he took. His hostages I took. Silver, gold,
- 135 iron, oxen, (and) sheep, (as) his tribute I received. From the city of Tanacun I departed. To the country of Lamena
- 136 I went. The men collected themselves. An inaccessible mountain they occupied. The peak of the mountain I assailed,
- 137 I took. Their fighting men I slew. Their spoil, their oxen, their sheep, from the midst of the mountain I brought down.
- 138 Their cities I threw down, dug up (and) burned with fire. To the city of Khazzi I went. My feet they took. Silver (and) gold,
- 139 their tribute, I received. CIRRI, the brother of CATI to the sovereignty over them
- 140 I set. On my return, to the country of Amanus I ascended. Beams of cedar I cut,
- 141 I removed, to my city Assur¹ I brought. In my 27th year the chariots of my armies I mustered. DAYAN-ASSUR
- 142 the Tàrtan,² the Commander of the wide-spreading army, at the head of my army to the country of Armenia I urged,
- 143 I sent. To Bit-Zamāni he descended. Into the low ground of the city of Ammas he went down. The river Arzane he crossed.
- 144 'SEDURI of the country of the Armenians heard, and to the strength of his numerous host

¹ The Ellasar of Genesis, now Kalah Shergat.

² *Turtanu* ("chief prince") in Assyrian.

- 145 he trusted ; and to make conflict (and) battle against
me he came. With him I fought.
- 146 A destruction of him I made. With the flower of his
youth¹ his broad fields I filled. In my 28th year
- 147 when in the city of Calah I was stopping news had
been brought (me, that) men of the Patinians
- 148 LUBARNI their Lord had slain (and) 'SURRI (who was)
not heir to the throne to the kingdom had raised.
- 149 DAYAN-ASSUR the Tartan, the Commander of the
widespreading army at the head of my host (and) my
camp²
- 150 I urged, I sent. The Euphrates in its flood he
crossed. In the city of Cinalua his royal city
- 151 a slaughter he made. (As for) 'SURRI the usurper,
exceeding fear of ASSUR my Lord
- 152 overwhelmed him, and the death of his destiny he
went.³ The men of the country of the Patinians from
before the sight of my mighty weapons

FACE D., *base*.

- 153 fled, and the children of 'SURRI together with the
soldiers, the rebels, (whom) they had taken they de-
livered to me.
- 154 Those soldiers on stakes I fixed. 'SA'SITUR of the
country of Uzzā my feet took. To the kingdom
- 155 over them I placed (him). Silver, gold, lead, bronze,
iron, (and) the horns of wild bulls to a countless number
I received.
- 156 An image of my Majesty of great size I made. In
the city of Cinalua his royal city in the temple of his
gods I set it up. In
- 157 my 29th year (my) army (and) camp I urged, I sent.

¹ Or, "the chiefs of his young warriors."

² The word properly means "baggage," and sometimes signifies "standard," which may be the translation here.

³ That is, he died as was fated.

- To the country of Cirkhi¹ I ascended. Their cities I threw down,
- 158 dug up, (and) burned with fire. Their country like a thunderstorm I swept. Exceeding
- 159 fear over them I cast. In my 30th year when in the city of Calah I was stopping, DAYAN-ASSUR
- 160 the Tartan, the Commander of the wide spreading army at the head of my army I urged, I sent. The river Zab
- 161 he crossed. To the midst of the cities of the city of Khupuscā he approached. The tribute of DATANA
- 162 of the city of the Khupuscians I received. From the midst of the cities of the Khupuscians
- 163 I departed.² To the midst of the cities of Maggubbi of the country of the Madakhirians he approached. The tribute
- 164 I received. From the midst of the cities of the country of the Madakhirians he departed. To the midst of the cities of UDACI
- 165 of the country of the Mannians he approached. UDACI of the country of the Mannians from before the sight of my mighty weapons
- 166 fled, and the city of Zirta, his royal city, he abandoned. To save his life he ascended (the mountains).
- 167 After him I pursued. His oxen, his sheep, his spoil, to a countless amount I brought back. His cities
- 168 I threw down, dug up, (and) burned with fire. From the country of the Mannians³ he departed. To the cities of SULU'SUNU of the country of Kharru
- 169 he approached. The city of Mairsuru, his royal city, together with the cities which depended on it he captured. (To) SULU'SUNU
- 170 together with his sons mercy I granted. To his

¹ The mountainous country near the sources of the Tigris.

² That is, in the person of his Commander-in-chief, Dayan-Assur.

³ The modern Van.

- country I restored him. A payment (and) tribute of horses I imposed.
- 171 My yoke upon him I placed. To the city of Surdira he approached. The tribute of ARTA-IRRI
- 172 of the city of the Surdirians I received. To the country of Par'sua¹ I went down. The tribute of the Kings
- 173 of the country of Par'sua I received. (As for) the rest of the country of Par'sua which did not reverence ASSUR, its cities
- 174 I captured. Their spoil, their plunder to Assyria I brought. In my 31st year, the second time, the cyclical-feast
- 175 of ASSUR and RIMMON I had inaugurated.² At the time while I was stopping in the city of Calah, DAYAN-ASSUR
- 176 the Tartan, the Commander of my wide spreading army, at the head of my army (and) my camp I urged, I sent.
- 177 To the cities of Datā of the country of Khupuscā he approached. The tribute I received.
- 178 To the city of Zapparia, a stronghold of the country of Muzatsira, I went. The city of Zapparia together with
- 179 forty-six cities of the city of the Muzatsirians I captured. Up to the borders of the country of the Armenians
- 180 I went. Fifty of their cities I threw down, dug up (and) burned with fire. To the country of Gūzani³ I went down. The tribute
- 181 of UPU of the country of the Gūzanians, of the

¹ Parthia.

² This refers to his assuming the eponymy a second time after completing a reign of 30 years. At this period the Assyrian kings assumed the eponymy on first ascending the throne, and the fact that Shalmaneser took the same office again in his 31st year shows that a cycle of thirty years was in existence.

³ The Gozan of the Old Testament.

- country of the Mannians, of the country of the Buririans, of the country of the Kharranians,¹
- 182 of the country of the Sasganians, of the country of the Andians,² (and) of the country of the Kharkhanians, oxen, sheep, (and) horses
- 183 trained to the yoke I received. To the cities of the country of I went down. The city of Perria
- 184 (and) the city of Sitivarya, its strongholds, together with 22 cities which depended upon it, I threw down, dug up
- 185 (and) burned with fire. Exceeding fear over them I cast. To the cities of the Parthians he went.
- 186 The cities of Bustu, Sala-khamanu (and) Cini-khamanu, fortified towns, together with 23 cities
- 187 which depended upon them I captured. Their fighting-men I slew. Their spoil I carried off. To the country of Zimri I went down.
- 188 Exceeding fear of ASSUR (and) MERODACH overwhelmed them. Their cities they abandoned. To
- 189 inaccessible mountains they ascended. Two hundred and fifty of their cities I threw down, dug up (and) burned with fire.
- 190 Into the lowground of Sime'si at the head of the country of Khalman I went down.

THE EPIGRAPHS ACCOMPANYING THE SCULPTURES.

- I. The tribute of 'SU'A of the country of the Gūzanians: silver, gold, lead, articles of bronze, sceptres for the King's hand, horses (and) camels with double backs: I received.
- II. The tribute of YAHUA³ son of KHUMRI:⁴ silver, gold, bowls of gold, vessels of gold, goblets of gold, pitchers of gold, lead, sceptres for the King's hand, (and) staves: I received.

¹ Haran or Harran in the Old Testament, called Carrhæ by the classical geographers.

² Andia was afterwards incorporated into Assyria by Sargon.

³ Jehu.

⁴ Omri.

- III. The tribute of the country of Muzri:¹ camels with double backs, an ox of the river 'Saceya,² horses, *wild asses, elephants*, (and) apes : I received.
- IV. The tribute of MERODACH-PAL-ITSTSAR of the country of the 'Sukhians:³ silver, gold, pitchers of gold, tusks of the wild bull, staves, antimony, garments of many colours, (and) linen ; I received.
- V. The tribute of GARPARUNDA of the country of the Patinians : silver, gold, lead, bronze, gums, articles of bronze, tusks of wild bulls, (and) *ebony*;⁴ I received.

¹ This is the Armenian Muzri, not Egypt.

² This would seem from the sculpture to mean a rhinoceros. M. Lenormant, however, identifies it with the Yak.

³ Nomadic tribes in the south-west of Babylonia.

⁴ The word means literally "pieces of strong wood."



TIGLATH PILESER II.

TRANSLATED BY

REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.

RECTOR OF ST. ETHELBURGA, E.C.

TIGLATH-PILESER II was king of Assyria from B.C. 745 to B.C. 727. From the circumstance that no less than five Hebrew kings are mentioned in his annals, the greatest interest attaches to the fragments of his history which have come down to us. That they are only fragments is deeply to be regretted, especially, as will be seen from the translations given below, even these are in a deplorably mutilated and imperfect condition. The kings of Judah therein mentioned are Azariah and Jehoahaz (Ahaz); the Kings of Israel, Menahem, Pekah and Hoshea, with their cotemporaries Rezon of Damascus, Hiram of Tyre, and two queens of Arabia, previously unknown to history, Zabibi and Samsi. The title of

Rabshakeh mentioned by Isaiah occurs at line 66 of p. 67, Vol. II of *W. A. Inscr.* as well as the name of Merodach Baladan mentioned by the same prophet, at line 19 of the Nimroud tablet. It need scarcely be added, that what has been thus providentially preserved, confirms the general accuracy of 2 Kings xv. especially which should be carefully compared with them.

The name Tiglath-Pileser or Tiglath-Pilneser probably means, according to Professor Schrader, (see his *Keilinschriften*, pp. 149-151,) who also identifies him with the Pul of Scripture, "He who puts his trust in Adar." The corruptions of this name since the time of the Septuagint translator who gives it as *Θαλγαθφελλασαρ*, by Greek Historians, are curious enough, viz., Thaglabanasar, Thagaphamasar, Thag-laphelladar and as a climax Thaglathphalnasar! The inscriptions of this monarch have been translated in full by Mr. G. Smith in his *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 254-287, and partially by M. Ménant in his *Annales des rois d'Assyrie*, pp. 137-148.

TIGLATH PILESER II.

WAR WITH AZARIAH, KING OF JUDAH.

ABOUT B.C. 739.¹

- I²
 2 (in the) course of my expedition the tribute
 which
 3 (AZARI)AH of the land of Judah like
 4 AZARIAH³ of the land of Judah in
 5 without number to heaven were raised
 6 in their eyes like that which from heaven
 7 battle and to my yoke
 8 of Assyria the great they heard and their heart
 feared
 9 I pulled down, I razed
 10 (to AZARI)AH went over and strengthened him
 and
 11
 12 in combat
 13 he closed his camp
 14 placed and his going forth
 15 he brought down and
 16 his forces he marshalled up to
 17 he caused them to be surrounded and
 18 his great lake

¹ *Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. III, p. 9, No. 2.² Lacuna. The commencement of all the following lines is wanting.³ Compare 2 Kings xv. 17. Azariah is the same person as Uzziah who would therefore seem to have been known by both names. See a valuable note in *Bagster's Comprehensive Bible*, p. 434.

THE WAR OF TIGLATH PILESER IN SYRIA AND THE EAST.

B.C. 738, 7. (Fragment No. 3.)

- 1¹ then
- 2 (of) AZARIAH as a mighty conqueror

- 3 tribute like that of
- 4 as his alliance the city of Ma
- 5 the cities of Uznū, Sianu, Ma ka bu,
 near the sea as far as the cities of N (and) as far
 as the land of Saua.
- 6 The mountain which is in Lebanon obeyed me, the
 land of Bahalizephon as far as Ammana the land of
 Izku and Saua, throughout its whole extent, the district
 of Karanim
- 7 the city of Hatarika,² the district of Nuqudina, the
 land of Hāza with the cities of the whole, the city of
 Ara their helpers,
- 8 the cities of their whole territory, the land of Sarbua,
 the entire mountain, the cities of Ashani and Yadabi and
 of Yaraqū the entire mountain,
- 9 the cities of ri, the cities of Illitarbi and Zitanu
 to the midst of the city Atinni Bumami nineteen
 districts.
- 10 belonging to the city of Hammatti³ together with the
 cities which were around them, which are beside the sea
 of the setting sun who in seditious rebellion to AZARIAH
 had gone over
- 11 to the boundaries of Assyria I added; my Civil Officers
 as Governors over them I appointed, 30,300 . . .

¹ This fragment abounds with lacunæ.

² Hadrach.

³ Hamath.

- 12 in their cities and the city of Ku . . . I caused to capture. 1223 men in the land of Alluba did I place. The people of Quru
- 13 I took the road. The people of Quru across the river Zab to the conquest of the Ahlamakkazi and the Gurumi
- 14 the Arumu¹ who were by the side of the river, their warriors they slew, their cities they took, their spoil they carried off
- 15 the Arameans came in numbers and set in order the battle array; the Arameans his supporters they slew
- 16 to save his life he fled away singly and went up to the city Birtu of Kinaya. The city of Saragitu
- 17 together with the cities of their environs they captured: 12,000 of their people as well as their children, their oxen, their sheep,
- 18 Dira to the land of the Hittites, to my presence they brought: my Viceroy, a man of Lullumi, the city of Mulugani
- 19 Kuridannitu belonging to the sons of Babylon, with the cities of their environs he captured, their warriors (he slew)
- 20 to the land of the Hittites to my presence they brought. My Viceroy, a man of the land of Nahiri, the city of Sabargillu
- 21 together with the cities of their environs, captured; their spoil he carried away. SIQUILA the Commander of the interior
- 22 to the land of the Hittites to my presence he brought. 600 women of the city of Amlate of the Damuni, 5400 women of the city of Dur

¹ Arameans.

- 23 in the city of Kunalie, the city of Huzarra, the city of Tae, the city of Tarmanazi, the city of Kulmadara, the city of Hatatirra, the city of Sagillu,
- 24 in the country of Unqui I placed women of the land of Gutie, of the land of Beth-sangibute, 1200 men of Illilai, 6208 of the tribes of Nakapai and Badai
- 25 (in) the city of Zimarra, the city of Arqae, the city of Uznū, the city of Ziannu which were on the sea-coast I placed. 588 men of the Badai tribe and of the city of Dunai
- 26 250 men of the Belai, 544 men of the Banitai, 380 men of Sidu-il-ziri, 460 men of Sagillu
- 27 men of the Illilai, 457 women of the land of Quti, and of the land of Beth-Sangibute in the district of the city of Tuhimmi I located ; 555
- 28 women of Qutie and the city of Beth-sangabute in the city of Tul-garmi I placed ; with the Assyrians I reckoned them ; the performance of service like Assyrians
- 29 (I imposed upon them). The tribute of KUSTASPI of the city of Kummuhai, of RAZINU¹ of the land of Damascus,² of MINIHIMMI³ of the city Samirinai,⁴
- 30 of HIRUMMU⁵ of the city of Zurai,⁶ ISIBITTI BAHAL of the city Guplai,⁷ of URIKKI of the land of Quai, of PISIRIS of the city of Carchemish, of ENIEL
- 31 of the city of Hamath, PANAMMU Governor of the city of Samhalai, TARHULARA of the land of Gamgumai, SULUMAL of Militdai, DADILU
- 32 of the city of Kaskai, UASSURMI of the land of Tubalai, UHIDTI of the land of Tunai, URPALLA of the land of Tuhantai, TUHAMMI of the city of Istundai
- 33 URIMMI of the city of Husannai, ZABIBIE Queen of

¹ Rezin.² Syria.³ Menahem.⁴ Samaria.⁵ Hiram.⁶ Tyre.⁷ Gebal.

- the land of Aribi, gold, silver, lead, iron, skins of buffaloes, horn of buffaloes
- 34 vestments of wool and linen, tapestries of blue and purple, strong wood, wood for weapons, slave-girls, treasures of Royalty, the skins of sheep, their wool
- 35 of *purple dye*, birds of the sky, their wing-feathers of bright blue, horses, horses for the yoke of large size, oxen, sheep and droves of camels,
- 36 she camels together with their young ones I received. In the ninth year of my life ASSUR my Lord protected me and to the country of, etc., etc., etc.

The following fragment¹ refers to the Northern Campaigns.

- 1 The city of Histu, the city of Harabisina, the city of Barbaz, the city of Tusa, as far as the river Ulurus I captured, their warriors I slew, 8650 persons
- 2 300 horses for the yoke of large size, 660 asses, 1350 oxen and 19,000 sheep I carried away ; (the cities) I pulled down, razed and burned with fire,
- 3 (their territory) to the borders of Assyria I added. Those cities I built anew : people of the lands which my hands had acquired, I placed in the midst (of them)
- 4 in the midst I raised, and to province of Nairi I added. The cities of Daikansa, Sakka, Ippa, Elisansu,
- 5 Lugadangar, Quda, Elugia, Dania, Danziun, Ulai, Luqia, Abrania, Evasa
- 6 (I captured), their warriors I slew, 900 men, 150 oxen, 1000 sheep, horses, horses for the yoke of large size, and asses I carried off ;

¹ *Inscriptions of Western Asia*, p. 10, No. 1.

- 7 their cities I pulled down, razed and burned with fire.
The people of the land of Muquani the marshalling of
my expedition beheld, and the city Ura
8 which is in the midst of Muqun
9 their sons, their daughters, their families
10 I cut off, and in their land
11 horses, horses for carriages,
12 I pulled down, razed, burned with fire.
13 I captured and slew their warriors



Fragment No. 2.¹

THE WAR IN PALESTINE.

- 1² the city of Hatarika³ as for the land of Saua
 2 (the city) of Zimirra,⁴ the city of Arqa
 3 the city of Uznu, (the city of Zihanu, the city of Ri)hanu, the city of Rihraha, the city of Rihisuzu,
 4 the cities (on the coast of) the upper sea I mastered. Six officers
 5 (as my Viceroys) over them I appointed . . . Asbuna which is beside the upper sea,
 6 the city Gaal . . .⁵ . . . Abil⁶ which is the boundary of the land of Humri⁷
 7 the spacious, throughout its whole extent to the borders of Assyria I joined,
 8 (my Officers) as Viceroys over them I appointed. HANUNU of the city of Házatái⁸
 9 who before my arms had fled (and to the land) of Egypt escaped, (and) Gaza
 10 (I captured :) . . . his furniture, his gods . . . and a couch for My Majesty
 11 within the palace the gods of their land I distributed and
 12 I established and like a bird
 13 to his land I brought him back.
 14 gold, silver, vestments of wool and linen

¹ *W. A. I.*, Vol. III, p. 10.² Lacuna.³ Hadrach.⁴ Or land. Probably the *Arkite* and *Zemarite* mentioned in Gen. x. 17, 18 as Canaanite tribes. Both were to the West of Lebanon.⁵ Gilead.⁶ Abel Beth-maacha.⁷ Omri.⁸ Gaza.

- 15 great (I re)ceived. The land of Beth-Omri¹
 16 the population the goods of its people
 17 (and the furniture to) the land of Assyria I sent
 PAKAHA² their King they had slain . . . HUSIH³
 18 to the kingdom over them I appointed. 10 talents of
 gold, 1000 of silver I received from them as their
 (tri)bute and
 19 to the land of Assyria I sent. SAAMSI the Queen of
 the land of Aribu⁴
 20 men 30,000 camels, 20,000 oxen
 21 5000 *simi* numerous images of her gods
 22 her valuables I captured. To save her life
 23 (fled) to Bazil an arid place, like an ass of the
 desert⁵ and
 24⁶

¹ Samaria.² Pekah.³ Hoshea.⁴ Arabia.⁵ Comp. Hosea viii. 9, "They are gone up to Assyria a wild ass alone by himself."⁶ The remainder of the text is in too fragmentary a state to present any details of interest unless it be the fact that Tiglath-Pileser appointed an officer called Nigabuti in Egypt (Musri), l. 40. There was however a country N.E. of the Tigris which bore the same name. *Norr. Dict.* p. 671.

EARLY HISTORY OF BABYLONIA.

PART II.

CONTINUED FROM VOLUME III.¹

 BY GEORGE SMITH.

23 GA-SIN-²

This monarch is only known as the father of SIN-IDINNA.

24 SIN-I-DIN-NA-A, SIN-I-DIN-NA.

Sin-idinna, by the character of his legends is closely connected with Rim-agu.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SIN-IDINNA.

³ “. . . . King of Bit his King,
SIN-IDINNA the powerful man,
son of GASIN nourisher of (c.)⁴ Ur, King of Larsa,
King of Sumir and Akkad.”

⁵ “SIN-IDINNA the powerful man,
nourisher of (c.) Ur King of (c.) Larsa,
King of Sumir and Akkad,
who the old house to its place restored,
in the throne of Larsa he was firmly established,

¹ P. 20.

² The remainder of this King's name is wanting.

³ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 3, No. IX, from Senkereh.

⁴ This letter (c.) indicates that it is the proper name of a country, while (g.) that the name is that of a god.

⁵ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XX, from Mugheir.

powerful soldiers were committed to his hand ;
 a delightful river, the river Kibigana,
 for the use of the country he excavated,
 perennial waters giving everlasting delight
 to his city and country, he has established.

Ka-ne-nam-kar-ra-ma-ni (g.) UR

eldest son of BEL marching before him in war,
 to intelligent ears he has proclaimed his glory.

In (c.) UR his renown is established,

Bit-nā-nun-na his delight to (g.) UR he built."

ON AN UNPUBLISHED CONE, FROM SENKEREH.

"To (g.) SAMAS, the Lord establisher of life,
 the powerful head of heaven,
 the highest of the spirits, his King,
 SIN-IDINNA the powerful man,
 nourisher of (c.) UR, King of (c.) Larsa
 King of Sumir and Akkad, Bit-parra for his
 preservation splendidly built he raised.
 By command of (g.) UR and SAMAS in Bit-parra,
 and Bit-ner-gal Sin-idinna, for the glory of the spirits,
 festivals magnificently he celebrated."

At this time commences a series of dated tablets, which are of great interest, on account of the insight they give into the condition and history of Babylonia. These tablets, record sales and loans,¹ all are written in the Turanian language, but *almost all* the names are written phonetically in Semitic; they show us that the method of dating in the current years of the reigning sovereign was not then in use, the customary method on most tablets being to date from some particular event which happened in the year. A similar method of dating occurs in several passages in the Bible.²

¹ See Appendix B.

² Compare Isaiah vi. 1; xiv. 28; and xx. 1.

Some few tablets are dated in years of an era, and show us the earliest examples of the use of an era for chronological purposes.

One of these tablets in the reign of Sin-idinna has the following date :—

“(Month) Abu (in the year) when
to (g.) *Eri-ul-gar-ra* (bit-)ganki he built
and of gold Sin-idinna King of Larsa made.”

25 NU-UR-VUL.

Nur-vul rebuilt some of the temples at Ur, and his inscription was found near those of Kudur-mabuk and Ardu-sin. Although Nur-vul ruled after the capital was transferred from Ur to Larsa, the worship of Samas god of Larsa, had not yet advanced sufficiently to cause his name to be united with that of Ur on the contract tablets, from which I infer that Nur-vul ruled soon after the capital was changed.

INSCRIPTIONS OF NUR-VUL.

“To (g.) UR his King, NUR-VUL the powerful man,
the ruler of (c.) Ur, King of Larsa,
Bit-rubmah, Bit-minuni Bit-galzib to (g.) UR
and (g.) NINGAL in (c.) Ur he built.”

CHALDEAN CONTRACT TABLET OF THE REIGN OF NUR-VUL.

This tablet is a lease of some land for eight years, at the price of $1\frac{1}{2}$ manehs of silver. The parties to the contract we are told, “By the name of (g.) UR and NUR-VUL the King swore.” The date of the contract was in the “month Debitu in the year when a lofty throne with gold for (g.) SAMAS he decorated.”

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 2, No. IV, from Mugheir.

26 AI

27 A-MAT-NIM

These are fragments of the names of the two predecessors of Sargon I.¹

28 SAR-GI-NA.

Sargina I, or Sargon I, was one of the most celebrated of these ancient kings, and is often alluded to in the inscriptions. No original text of this reign is known, but we have two imperfect Assyrian copies of one of his inscriptions, part of which is printed in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions*:² a few new lines can now be added to this fragment, and part of the next column.

INSCRIPTION OF SARGON.

³ "SARGINA the powerful King, King of Agade am I.
 My mother was enceint, my father knew not (of it).
 My father's brother oppressed the country.
 In the city of Azupirani, which by the side
 of the Euphrates is situated, she conceived me ;
 my mother was enceint, and in a grove brought me forth ;
 she placed me in a cradle of wicker,
 with bitumen my exit she closed, and launched me
 on the river, which away from her carried me.
 The river to AKKI the Abal floated me,
 AKKI the Abal in tenderness of bowels lifted me ;
 AKKI the Abal as his child brought me up ;
 AKKI the Abal as his husbandman placed me,
 and in my husbandry ISHTAR prospered me . . .
 45 years, the kingdom I took.
 The people of the dark races I ruled,

¹ They are only known from the list printed in *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 65.

² *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 3, p. 4, No. VII.

³ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 3, p. 4, No. VII.

I over difficult countries,
 in chariots of bronze I rode. I governed
 the upper countries (I rule) the Kings
 of the Lower Countries, . . .

ti-ti-sal-lat I besieged a third time,
 ASMUN submitted DUR-AN-KI-GAL bowed
 I destroyed and

When the King who arises after me in after (days)
 the people of the dark races (shall rule) over
 difficult countries in chariots of (bronze shall ride)
 shall govern the upper countries (and rule) the Kings
 of the Lower Countries . . . *ti-ti-sal-lat* shall
 besiege the third time (ASMUN submitting)
 DUR-AN-KI-GAL bowing from my city Agane"

This is evidently the text of an usurper, who pretends to be the son of a former monarch. There is a striking parallel between some points in this story, and the account in Exodus ii, of the concealment of the infant Moses. Sargon is often mentioned on the astrological and omen tablets, and an edition of those works was probably written in his reign. Many of the inscriptions on these tablets appear to belong to an earlier epoch, when the city of Ur was the national capital, but all these were incorporated with the tablets of Sargon and his son Naram-sin, and formed two great works, one on astrology or celestial omens, the other on terrestrial omens. He built a city called Dur-sargina, and we probably owe the preservation of this curious inscription, in which he states his early history, to the Assyrian king Sargon, who named himself after the earlier monarch, and also founded a city which is called Dur-sargina.

The further history of Sargon I, after he ascended the throne, is given on a tablet, which I did not discover until after the first part of this work had gone to press. This tablet, which is one of the most remarkable records in the

British Museum, gives the history of Sargon and of his son and successor Naram-sin ; it is divided into fourteen paragraphs, by lines drawn across the tablet, each paragraph containing the account of one war or other celebrated event. At the head of every paragraph is a description of the omen from the Moon under which the work was undertaken, for the Babylonians never started on an expedition, or commenced any work without consulting the omens ; and even the great king Nebuchadnezzar is recorded¹ to have done the same.

The first paragraph of the history of Sargon records a successful campaign in Elam, east of Babylonia, but Sargon does not appear to have met the Elamite monarch ; the barbarous custom of mutilating the bodies of the enemy was practised by the Babylonians in this war.

The second division records a campaign in Syria, in which the king was again successful. It appears from the statement in this paragraph, that the *kiprat arba*, or four races, were in Syria, and that the title "King of the four races" indicated supremacy over Syria. This name "*kiprat arba*" was probably given to the Syrians on account of there being four races or principal states in that region. A similar division is given in Genesis x, 23, where Aram (Syria) has four sons or divisions, Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash, corresponding with the four races of the Babylonian inscriptions.

The third clause relates the subjugation of all Babylonia, and the foundation of the new capital city Agane, which Sargon peopled with the conquered races.

The fourth and fifth paragraphs relate to campaigns in Syria ; both are unfortunately much mutilated.

The sixth division is too mutilated to make much out of it ; it may refer to a former period of the history.

The seventh clause records the greatest campaign of the

¹ Ezekiel xxi. 21, 22.

reign, it occupied three years, and in it Sargon penetrated to the sea of the setting sun (the Mediterranean) ; here he conquered the country, and set up memorial statues in commemoration of his triumph. At the close of this expedition, the spoil of these distant regions was carried in triumph to Babylonia.

The eighth division records the enlargement of the palace of Agani by Sargon, who named it Ekiam-izillik.

The ninth paragraph gives an account of the revolt of Kas-tu-bi-li of Ka-zal-la. Sargon made an expedition to Kazalla, and wasted the country with fire and sword.

In the next division we find a change of fortune, Sargon, who had carried his arms from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, was now closely besieged in his own capital Agani, but he made a sally with his army, and, attacking the surrounding hosts, defeated them and obliged them to raise the siege and retire with the loss of their baggage. The besieging host is called by the name *mak-kaka-bi*, which I conjecturally read Kaldi or Chaldeans, but the meaning of the expression I should rather think to be "all countries."

The tenth paragraph shows Sargon resuming his career of conquest ; he now attacked the kingdom of Subartu and conquered it ; he occupied their territory, destroyed their army, and finally entered his capital Akkad with the spoil. The history of the reign of Sargon now closes, and the rest of this important inscription relates to the exploits of his son and successor Naram-sin.

The following is a translation of the inscription, omitting the astrological omens, several of which are imperfect, and all of them difficult.

I "When the moon," &c., &c.¹ An omen for Sargina, who at this position

¹ The astronomical indications are omitted, not being required for historical information.

- 2 to Elam marched, and the Elamites destroyed,
3 their overthrow he accomplished their limbs he cut off.
-

- 4 When the moon, &c., &c.
5 An omen for SARGINA, who to Syria marched and
6 the Syrians destroyed; the four races his hand conquered.
-

- 7 When the moon, &c., &c.
8 An omen for SARGINA, who at this position the whole
of Babylonia subdued, and
9 the dust of the spoil of Babduna removed and
10 . . . (c.) Akkad the city he built ki its
name he proclaimed
11 in the midst he placed.
-

- 12 (When the moon), &c., &c.
13 &c. (An omen for SARGI-)NA, who at this
position to Syria
14 (marched, and the) four races his hand conquered.
-

- 15 (When the moon), &c., &c.
16 (An omen for SARGINA, who at this position to) Syria
marched, and
17 his his leaders
18 in the gate of his rising.
-

- 19 (When the moon), &c., &c. (An omen for SARGI)NA,
who at this position
20 *ri* his left hand? ISTAR
21 caused him to conquer; to the front
his
-

- 22 (When the moon), &c., &c. An omen for SARGINA,
who at this position
23 arose, and an equal or rival had not, his
forces over

24 (the countries of) the sea of the setting sun he crossed,
and in the third year at the setting sun

25 his hand conquered, under one command he
caused them to be only fixed, his image at the setting sun

26 he set up, their spoil in the countries of the sea he
made to cross.

27 (When the moon), &c., &c.

28 (An omen) for SARGINA, who his palace *padi* five *bathu*
enlarged

29 . . . chief of the people established and Ekiam-izallak
he called it.

30 When the moon, &c., &c.

31 &c. The same. KASTU-BILA of Kazalla re-
volted against him; and to Kazalla

32 he marched, and their men he fought against, their
overthrow he accomplished,

33 their great army he destroyed; Kazalla to mounds and
ruins he reduced,

34 the nests of the birds he swept away.

35 When the moon, &c., &c.

36 &c. An omen for SARGINA, of whom at this
position,

37 the elders of the people revolted against him, and in
Akkad surrounded him, and

38 SARGINA came out and their men he fought against,
their overthrow he accomplished.

REVERSE

1 their great army he destroyed.

2 the encampment he broke through.

3 When the moon, &c., &c.

4 &c. &c.

- 5 An omen for SARGINA, who at this position
 6 Subarti in its strength its people to the sword he
 subdued, and
 7 SARGINA their seats caused to occupy, and
 8 their men he fought against, their overthrow he accom-
 plished, their great army
 9 . . . the spoil he collected, into (c.) Akkad he caused
 to enter.
-
- 10 When the moon, &c., &c.
 11 &c. An omen for NARAM-SIN,
 12 who at this position to (c.) Apirak marched, and
 13 *ip-lu-su* RIS-VUL King of (c.) Apirak
 14 and (c.) Apirak his hand conquered.
-
- 15 When the moon, &c., &c.
 16 &c. An omen for NARAM-SIN, who at this
 position
 17 (to Ma-)ganna marched, and Maganna he captured,
 and
 18 King of Maganna his hand conquered.
-
- 19 seven and one-half to after him . . .
 20 may they not gather *i-ba*
-

The tablet contains at the end a colophon, which states that it is a copy made by order of a king of Assyria, whose name is lost by a fracture.

Sargon, who was one of the most memorable of the early kings of Babylonia, was a great builder, as well as a warrior; besides the rebuilding of his palace at Akkad, which is mentioned in this tablet, he also built a great temple at Akkad, dedicated to the goddess Anunit. The site of the city of Akkad has not yet been discovered, so at present we are not acquainted with the ruins of Sargon's buildings, but an

account of the temple of Anunit is found in an inscription of Nabonidus, the last native king of Babylon: his statement is as follows:—¹

“(The memorial cylinders) of BITULMAS of
(c.) Akkad from the time of (SAR-GINA)
King of (c.) Babylon and NARAM-SIN his son
the very ancient kings, to the time of
NABU-NAHID King of (c.) Babylon were not seen.”

29 NA-RA-AM-SIN, NA-RAM-SIN.

Naram-sin the son and successor of Sargon is mentioned in the two last inscriptions. He appears by the historical tablet to have continued the conquests of his father, subjugating the kingdom of Apirak and afterwards that of Maganna. The name of the conquered king of Apirak is Ris-vul, which is Babylonian, and leads to the inference that Apirak was in or near Babylonia. Among the cities of Babylonia, the nearest name to Apirak is Karrak, which we know to have been a capital at this time. The reading Karrak is not quite certain, as the first character *kar*, is a polyphone, so that the name may possibly be Apirak. Maganna was the most ancient cuneiform name of Egypt, and the conquest of this country might lead us to suspect that Naram-sin invaded Egypt: hence the loss of the name of the conquered king of Maganna is a misfortune; but there may have been another country called Magan, nearer to Babylonia, in the same way that in later times there were two countries named Muzur. There is an inscription of Naram-sin on a vase which was discovered by M. Fresnel at Babylon, and since lost in the Tigris; the inscription² reads, “NARAMSIN King of the four races, conqueror of Apirak and Magan.” A large omen tablet which was composed

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 69, col. 2, lines 29-32.

² *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 3, No. VII.

during this reign has, with reference to one omen, the notice that it was "good" or "lucky for NARAM-SIN."

Another fragment of an inscription¹ which gives the names of some of the Babylonian-kings, does not contain the name of Naram-sin the successor of Sargon, but I attribute this to the imperfect state of the fragment.

30 ELLAT-GULA.

Ellat-gula was a queen, she probably succeeded Naram-sin and was the last of the dynasty of Sargon. Nothing is known of her reign, and at its close, Hammurabi a foreign prince, who was perhaps related to her by marriage, succeeded to her throne.

The history must now travel again to the south of the country which was ruled at this time by Rim-agu, the last native monarch.

31 RI-IM-AGU.

Rim-agu was the son of Kudurmabuk; he was made King of (c.) Larsa during his father's lifetime. Extensive remains of buildings erected by Rim-agu have been discovered, and in his inscriptions he claims to have restored many of the national temples.

INSCRIPTIONS OF RIM-AGU.

- ² "RIM-AGU the powerful man, the high Ruler,
established by (g.) BEL nourisher of (c.) Ur,
King of (c.) Larsa, King of Sumir and Akkad,
son of KUDUR-MABUK the Lord of Elam,
(c.) Ur the great he embellished,
its he established, (g.) UR my King blessed me,
the great wall of Harris-galla to prevent invasion,
its circuit I raised I built, the city I encircled,
the great tower of (g.) UR strongly I constructed."

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 65.

² *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XVI, from Mugheir.

ON AN UNPUBLISHED CONE.

“(g.) UR Lord of spirits and angels
 my King RIM-AGU nourisher of the temple,
 head Ruler of Bit-nergai the renowned man,
 Lord of Bit-parra, mizkin of ancient (c.) Eridu,
 who the religious festivals keeps,
 Bit-hansa of (c.) Ziggulla its site he restored,
 its great ramparts his hands made,
 UR and SAMAS to their places he restored.
 The Prince his begetter Bit-sarna for his life
 established in the service of his Lord
 who marches before him, for the preservation of his life
 he built his house, also he restored its site,
 and the four houses of Saggal, for his preservation
 and the preservation of KUDUR-MABUK
 the father his begetter, the house with rejoicing Bit-tingal
 he built,

a statue before the house he”

“To (g.) NIN *bil gal-lu dub-ba ram-e ki-ka-de*
zi-gal-zu luh-mah lib-ka-va' great god
 his command *si-ku-du* his King,
 RIM-AGU ruler of the lordship of (c.) Nipur
 mizkin of ancient (c.) Eridu,
 nourisher of (c.) Ur and Bit-uddaimtiz,
 King of (c.) Larsa, King of Sumir and Akkad,
 worshipper of (g.) ANU (g.) BEL and (g.) HEA,
 the great gods who the ancient city of Uruk
 into my hands have given.

To NIN- my King, exalter of my right hand,
 Bit-daram-semu the sanctuary of his delight,
 for my preservation I built.”

Besides this inscription there are several tablets dated in

¹ The interpretation being very difficult and doubtful, the whole passage is here transliterated.

the reign of Rim-agu, which give us some notice of the events of his reign. Probably the earliest of these are the tablets dated in the year of the fall of Karrak. One of these has upon it part of the name of Rim-agu. Now this city of Karrak I have suspected to be the same as the Apirak taken by Naram-agu, and I further supposed that Rim-agu was the Turanian form of Naram-sin, but these are only suppositions and I have since considered them erroneous. It is more probable that Naram-agu ruled in the north of Babylonia, while Rim-agu ruled at Larsa over the south. Karrak appears to have retained its position as a capital, until it fell before the arms of Rim-agu, and was annexed to the kingdom of Larsa. Rim-agu from this date ruled the whole of the country from Nipur to the Persian Gulf. The dates in this year are as follows: "Month Nisannu 25th day in the year when the powerful soldiers of (g.) ANU (g.) BEL and (g.) HEA (c.) Karrak the royal city captured;" and "Month *Nisannu* 30th day in the year when the (powerful) soldiers of (ANU) (g.) BEL and (g.) HEA (c.) Karrak the royal city captured." In both these dates the month is uncertain; but I may here remark that I suspect, from the dates on some of these tablets, that the year at this time commenced with the month Tisri at the autumnal equinox, instead of with the month Nisan at the vernal equinox; for in two instances on these early tablets the intercalary month is placed between Elul and Tisri.

The Babylonians attached so great an interest to the capture of Karrak that they commenced dating from it as an era, and the following dates from it are in the British Museum; all of these fall within the reign of Rim-agu:—

"Month Ululu in the fifth year
after Karrak was captured."

"Month Addaru 30th day in the sixth year after
Karrak was captured."

In this tablet Rim-agu bears the title "King of (c.) Larsa and (c.) Ur.

"Month Addaru 30th day in the seventh year after Karrak was captured."

"Month Nisannu in the eighth year after Karrak (was captured)."

"Month Tasritu 30th day in the thirteenth year after Karrak by the living ruler RIM-AGU was captured."

"Month Sabadu in the eighteenth year after Karrak was captured."

"Month Sabadu 10th day in the twenty-eighth year after Karrak was captured."

Beside the dates from the era of the taking of Karrak, there are several others of the time of Rim-agu. Two of these are dated in the year when Rim-agu placed two bronze statues in the Temple of the Sun, they are :—

"Month Davazu in the year when two bronze statues RIM-AGU the King in Bit-parra placed.

"Month Sabadu in the year when two bronze statues RIM-AGU the King in Bit-parra placed."

Another tablet is dated,

"Month Duvazu in the year when the river Ud-kas-nun(?) was excavated."

And two others,

"Month Tasritu in the year when the great wall of Bellu was built."

In the case of one document the inside copy reads, "Month Abu in the year when the river Tigris was excavated;" while the outside copy reads, "Month Abu in the year when the river Tigris, the river of the gods, to the ocean was excavated." From these notices I suppose that Rim-agu whose name is attached to all these documents made a channel from the Tigris to the sea.

Another document is dated as follows: "Month Sabadu in the year when (c.) Kisure he occupied and his powerful warriors (g.) BEL gave him in numbers and (c.) Dur-an he conquered."

This notice refers to a war in Upper Babylonia, both Kisure and Dur-an being in that part of the country: there is no clue at present as to the date of this war.

Two of the last documents of the reign of Rim-agu point to an invasion of South Babylonia by the king of the upper country, most probably Hammurabi. This first incursion Rim-agu claims to have repulsed. These documents are dated, one, "Month Kisilivu in the year when RIM-AGU the King the evil enemy"—here there seems a word wanting. The other is dated, "Month Sabadu in the year when RIM-AGU the King (g.) NIN-MAHE of *Bit-saptu-mur* the foundation of heaven and earth the kingdom and people and the evil enemy of the upper region to his presence did not return." The history of the next monarch Hammurabi, shows however, that Rim-agu allied himself with the Elamites, but was ultimately defeated by Hammurabi, who then united the whole of Babylonia under one sceptre.

32 HA-MU-RA-BI, HA-AM-MU-RA-BI,
HA-AM-MU-RA-BI, HA-AM-MU-U-RA-BI.

Ellat-gula the last sovereign of the race of Sargon had been succeeded in Akkad by a foreigner named Hammurabi. The tribe to which Hammurabi belonged is not stated in the inscriptions, but as one of the kings of this dynasty is called king of the Kassi, and as the Kassi are stated in the Synchronous History to have been predominant in Babylonia at that time, I suppose he belonged to that tribe. Of the circumstances under which he ascended the throne we know nothing; his reign forms, however, one of the most remark-

able epochs in Babylonian history. In spite of the brilliant reigns of Sargon and Naram-sin, who ruled in Upper Babylonia, the most important seats of dominion had hitherto been in the lower country. With the reign of Hammurabi all this was changed. On ascending the throne of the house of Sargon, Hammurabi fixed his capital at a city then called Dindur, which was hereafter named Bab-ili or "The Gate of god." This city was the Babel of the Bible, the renowned city of Babylon. From the time when Hammurabi fixed his court at Babylon, that city continued to be the capital of the country down to the time of the conquest of Babylonia by the Persians. The deity chosen by Hammurabi as the head of his worship and the god of his capital was Maruduk or Merodach, who, according to the Babylonian system of mythology, was the son of Hea, the sea god or Neptune, the presiding deity of the city of Eridu.

To Merodach a grand temple was erected at Babylon, called Bit-sagga. This temple was most probably built by Hammurabi, as it was already in existence in the reign of his successor Samsu-iluna. The account of the building of this temple is found on a mutilated tablet written in the two languages, Turanian and Semitic, which probably belongs to this reign. I translate it as the first text of Hammurabi:—

" Babylon people he made
(Bit-sagga) in the gate of the deep a delightful house
he built,
that (house) with shouting and joy he completed.
its head to the heaven he raised.

. in the gate of the sea worship and delightful
devotion to the image of his divinity he caused to be
offered. (To MARUDUK) and ZIRPANIT a shrine beautiful
and delightful (he made, and in) a firm seat he seated
them.

. to his heart he opened.

. good he
 joy he established
 music night and day he caused (to be per-
 formed)
 head of the country he established."

The "gate of the deep" here mentioned, was probably in the district of Babylon next the Euphrates, where the great temple of Merodach, or Bel was built.

After obtaining possession of Northern Babylonia, or Akkad, and fixing his capital at Babylon, Hammurabi made war on the southern portion of the country, then ruled by Rim-agu. His first attack was probably the invasion which Rim-agu claims to have repulsed; if so, however, this success only gave a short breathing time to the kingdom of Rim-agu. Hammurabi again attacked him; and, although the king of Larsa called in the aid of the Elamites, he and his allies were defeated in a decisive battle by Hammurabi, who now took possession of the rest of the country. The triumph of Hammurabi is recorded in the two following inscriptions:—

"Month Sabadu 22nd day in the year
 when HAMMURABI the King in the service of (g.) ANU
 and (g.) BEL triumphantly marched,
 and the Lord of Elam and King RIM-AGU he overthrew."
 And—

"Month Nisannu in the year when
 HAMMURABI the King in the service of (g.) ANU
 and (g.) BEL triumphantly marched."

From this year, when Hammurabi took possession of Larsa, the dated tablets record the principal events of his reign; some of these show that in one year he proclaimed or announced the worship of a goddess named Urmitu, who is not mentioned until this time. Urmitu was called the consort of Nabu or Nebo, the son of Hammurabi's great divinity Maruduk. These tablets are as follows:—

“Month Ululu 10th day in the year when
HAMMURABI the King (g.) URMITU proclaimed.”

“Month Ululu 21st day in the year when
(g.) URMITU he proclaimed.”

“Month Samna 13th day in the year when
HAMMURABI the King (g.) URMITU proclaimed.”

“Month Debitu in the year when
HAMMURABI the King (g.) URMITU proclaimed.”

“Month Sabadu in the year when
HAMMURABI the King (g.) URMITU proclaimed.”

“Month Tasritu 4th day in the year when
HAMMURABI the King (g.) URMITU proclaimed.”

“Month Debitu 10th day in the year when (g.) URMITU.”

Another section of these tablets commemorates the year when Hammurabi restored the temple of Mite-urris at the city of Kis; here he built, in addition to the temple, a Ziggurrat or tower, dedicated to the deity Zamana, the top of which, in the figurative language of the Babylonians, is said to have reached unto heaven. This Ziggurrat afterwards bore the name of the “tower of the country,” and is now represented by the mound of Hymer, north-east of Babylon. The tablets of this year read:—

“Month Airu in the year when
HAMMURABI the King Bit-mite-urris restored.”

“Month Airu 23rd day in the year when
HAMMURABI the King Bi-mite-urris restored.”

“Month Ululu 10th day in the year when
HAMMURABI the King Bit-mite-urris restored.”

“Month Airu in the year when HAMMURABI
the King Bit-mite-urris restored,
and the great tower of (g.) ZAMAMA the spirit,
its top reaching to heaven he built.”

“Month Addaru 4th day in the year
when HAMMURABI the King Bit-mite-urris restored,

and the great tower of (g.) ZAMAMA the spirit,
its top reaching to heaven he built."

Three of the dated tablets of the reign of Hammurabi refer to some decoration or work executed for the deities Anu, Anunit, and Nana. The dates of this year I read with some doubt.

"Month Sabadu 13th day in the year
when HAMMURABI the King to (g.) ANU
(g.) ANUNIT and (g.) NANA
adorned and Bit-silim-kalamma he restored."

"Month Addaru in the year when HAMMURABI
the King (g.) ANU (g.) ANUNIT and NANA adorned."

"Month Addaru in the year of (g.) ANU
(g.) ANUNIT and (g.) NANA."

The next three dates record a calamity which was always liable to occur in the districts overflowed by the rivers. One of these annual inundations in the time of Hammurabi carried away the city of Mullias. These dates are :—

"Month Samna in the year when Mullias
by a great flood was destroyed."

The second document has the same date and wording.
The third is :—

"Month Tasritu in the year when
Mullias by a great flood was destroyed."

Three other dated tablets were inscribed in the year when Hammurabi built a wall or embankment along the River Tigris, probably to restrain the inundation ; this wall he named Kara-samas.

"Month Debitu in the year when
the great wall Kara-samas he built."

"Month Debitu in the year when HAMMURABI
the King the great wall of Kara-samas built."

"Month Ululu in the year when HAMMURABI
the King a great wall along the Tigris,

its top like a mountain raised,

Kara-samas its name is called ; he built it."

The two remaining dated tablets of this reign record the destruction of the walls of Mairu, Malalnak, and Kitu by Hammurabi, probably in some of his military expeditions. These dates are :—

"Month of Abu 13th day in the year when HAMMURABI the King (by command of (g.) BEL) the wall of (c.) Mairu and the wall of (c.) Malalnak destroyed."

"Month Kisilivu 25th day in the year when by command of (g.) BEL the side of the wall of Kitu was destroyed."

Besides the inscriptions on these dated tablets there are five other texts of Hammurabi. The principal of these is the Semitic Inscription at Paris, translations of which have been published by M. Menant and Mr. Fox Talbot. This inscription commemorates the excavating of a canal, in that country a most important work. I translate it as follows:—

"HAMMURABI the powerful king, King of Babylon,
the King renowned through the four races,
conqueror of the enemies of MARUDUK,
the ruler the delight of his heart am I.
When ANU and BEL the people of Sumir
and Akkad to my dominion gave,
powerful adversaries into my hand they delivered.
The river Hammurabi-nuhus-nisi¹
flowing waters giving pleasure to the people
of Sumir and Akkad I excavated,
the whole of its banks to its course I restored,
the entire channel I filled, perennial waters
for the people of Sumir and Akkad I established.
'The people of Sumir and Akkad
their chief men I gathered,

¹ Hammurabi the delight of men.

authority and possessions I established to them,
 delight and pleasure I spread out to them,
 in luxurious seats I seated them.
 Then I HAMMURABI the powerful King
 blessed by the great gods ;
 with the powerful forces which MARUDUK gave me,
 a great wall with much earth,
 its top like a mountain raised,
 along the river Hammurabi-nuhus-nisi I made."

There are eight other lines much mutilated. I feel uncertain about the restoration of this part of the inscription. The high wall or embankment here mentioned may be the same as the one mentioned in the dated tablets.

The next inscription of Hammurabi is on a tablet in the British Museum,¹ from the city of Zarlalab, where he built a temple to the principal goddess of the place :—

"To (g.) NANA of (c.) Zarlalab mistress of worship,
 glory of heaven and earth, his Lady,
 HAMMURABI proclaimed by (g.) ANU and (g.) BEL,
 blessed by (g.) SAMAS, the joy of the heart of MARUDUK,
 delight of the heart of NANA, the powerful King,
 King of (c.) Babylon, King of Sumir and Akkad,
 King of the four races, King of regions
 which the great gods in his hands have placed.
 When (g.) NANA the people of Sumir and Akkad
 to his dominion gave, his *enemies* into his hands she
 delivered. To (g.) NANA his delight, in (c.) Zarlalab
 the city of Her Royalty, her delightful house he built."

The allusions in these inscriptions to his enemies being delivered into his hand when he took the dominion of Sumir and Akkad, probably refer to his triumph over Rim-agu.

Another inscription of Hammurabi,² is found on bricks

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 4, No. XV, 1.

² *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 4, No. XV, 2.

from the Ziggurrat or tower attached to the Temple of the Sun at Larsa, which he built. This inscription reads :—

“HAMMURABI the powerful king,
King of (c.) Babylon, King of the four races,
builder of Bit-parra, the Temple of the Sun
in the city of Larsa.”

Respecting this tower of Hammurabi there is a fragmentary passage in the broken cylinder of Nabonidus,¹ which is very curious. It reads :—

“ for 700 years was
not (finished its building) a tower
over (that memorial cylinder) to (g.) SAMAS
he had built within (it) my heart
delighted in the matter, from round the cylinder
which HAMMURABI (had made), not a particle had escaped,
not a particle had entered.”

This fragmentary passage refers to a cylinder of Hammurabi which, according to Nabonidus, was found intact in its chamber in the corner of the tower. According to the statement on the cylinder, the building had been founded 700 years before the time of Hammurabi; and, as it was probably founded by Uruk, this may be taken as an indication that Hammurabi considered that monarch to have lived 700 years before his time.

At the city of Kilmad, now Kalwadha, near Baghdad, Hammurabi built a palace; and some bronze rings have been found there with the inscription, “Palace of HAMMURABI.” The remaining inscription of this monarch is on a fragment of black stone found by Ker Porter in the ruin of Hymer, north-east of Babylon. This mound, as before noted, marks the site of the tower built by Hammurabi to the deity Zamama. So far as the dated tablets go, they would seem to indicate that the reign of Hammurabi was short, as there

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 69, col. 2, line 4.

are only tablets made in about ten years of his reign, and along with them tablets of about ten years of the reign of his supposed successor Samsu-iluna. Now it is singular that the name of Samsu-iluna is absent from the list of these kings on the tablet of royal names already quoted.

33 SA-AM-SU-(I)-LU-NA, SA-AM-SU-I-LU-AN.'

The name of Samsu-iluna, although as common on the dated contract tablets as that of Hammu-rabi, is never found on any public monument. The dated tablets of the reign of Samsu-iluna give us the following facts of his reign.

A number of these tablets relate to one year when he excavated a canal, called in these inscriptions the river Samsu-iluna-nagab-nuhsi.

These dates are :—

“Month Airu 6th day in the year when the river
of SAMSU-ILUNA the river Nagab-nuhsi (he excavated).”

“Month Airu 12th day in the year
when SAMSU-ILUNA the King the river
Samsu-iluna-nagab-nuhsi excavated.”

“Month Abu in the year when SAMSU-ILUNA
the King the river Samsu-iluna-nagab-nuhsi excavated.”

“Month Ululu 3rd day in the year when the
river Samsu-iluna-nagab-nuhsi excavated.”

“Month Ululu 15th day in the year
when SAMSU-ILUNA the King the river
Samsu-iluna-nagab-nuhsi excavated.”

“Month Ululu 30th day in the year when
SAMSU-ILUNA the King the river
Samsu-iluna-nagab-nuhsi excavated.”

“Month Samna 4th day in the year when
SAMSU-ILUNA the King the river
Samsu-iluna-nagab-nuhsi excavated.”

"Month Debitu in the year when
SAMSU-ILUNA the King the river
Samsu-iluna-nagab-nuhsi excavated."

"Month Sabadu 5th day in the year when
SAMSU-ILUNA the King
the river Samsu-iluna-nagab-nuhsi excavated."¹

Another series of these tablets records the raising of a mound or wall, and the digging of a canal round the city of Sargon ; these tablets are as follows :—

"Month Tasritu 8th day in the year when
SAMSU-ILUNA the King the circuit of Sargina a mound and
canal
round its sides for its protection he raised."

"Month Nisannu 5th day in the year when
SAMSU-ILUNA the King (the circuit)
of Sargina (a canal) and mound round its sides."

"Month the second Ululu in the year
when SAMSU-ILUNA the King the circuit of Sargina
a mound and canal round its sides."

"Month Tasritu 8th day in the year
when SAMSU-ILUNA the King the circuit of Sargina
a mound and canal round its sides."

The devotion of Samsu-iluna to the worship of the Babylonian divinities is shown by a number of these tablets, which relate that he made figures of *limazi* or cherubim, as emblems of the deities Shamas and Merodach : these were overlaid with gold, and placed some in the temple of Bit-saggal at Babylon before the presence of Merodach, and others in the temple of the Sun at Larsa before the presence of Shamas. The dates are :—

"Month Samna 10th day in the year
when SAMSU-ILUNA the King ;

¹ This canal is mentioned in a list of rivers and canals printed in *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 51.

- of SAMAS and MARUDUK their emblems made,
images he carved of cherubim overlaid with gold,
in Bit-parra before the presence of SAMAS, and in
Bit-saggal before the presence of MARUDUK he placed.”
- “Month Samna 24th day in the year
when SAMSU-ILUNA the King ;
of SAMAS and MARUDUK their emblems made,
images he carved of cherubim overlaid with gold,
in Bit-parra before the presence of SAMAS, and in
Bit-saggal before the presence of MARUDUK he placed.”
- “Month Tasritu 10th day in the year
when SAMSU-ILUNA the King
images carved of cherubim overlaid with gold.”
- “Month Tasritu 15th day in the year
when SAMSU-ILUNA the King
images carved of cherubim overlaid with gold.”
- “Month Tasritu 20th day in the year
when SAMSU-ILUNA the King
images carved of cherubim overlaid with gold.”
- “Month Samna 20th day in the year
when SAMSU-ILUNA the King
images carved of cherubim overlaid with gold.”¹
- Two other tablets appear to refer to the year of accession
of Samsu-iluna, and are probably to be placed earlier than
the tablets translated above ; these are :—
- “Month Kisiliou in the year
when SAMSU-ILUNA the King,
by the august will of MARUDUK
to the supremacy of the countries was raised.”
- “Month Samna 30th day in the year when
SAMSU-ILUNA the King, by the august will of MARUDUK.”
- There are four other dates from events in the reign of
Samsu-iluna : these it is at present difficult to translate

¹ See 1 Kings vi. 23.

literally : one is dated in the month Nisannu, 20th day, in a year when Samsu-iluna dedicated a statue adorned with gold and silver in the temple of Merodach ; and two others refer to a throne which the monarch dedicated to the deity Ur ; the fourth date is unintelligible at present.

34 AM-MI-DI-KA-GA.

The name of Ammidi-kaga occurs in the list of kings after that of Hammurabi ; he is not otherwise known.

35 KU-UR-GAL-ZU.

This monarch follows next in the list. There are several monuments bearing the name of Kuri-galzu or Kur-galzu but they appear to belong to a later king of the same name.

36 SIM-MAS-SI-HU, SI-IM-MAS-SI-HU.

The name of this king follows Kur-galzu in the list, and a tablet dated in his twelfth year is in the British Museum. This tablet records that three brothers named Muranu, Gatiya, and Musallimu, sons of Bel-usati, were slaves of Bēā son of Iriba-sin, and were sold by him to separate masters ; the transaction being dated in "The month Debitu, 12th day, 12th year of SIMMAS-SIHU the King."

37 U-LAM-BUR-YA-A-AS.

Ulam-buryas succeeded Simmas-sihu, according to the list, but he has left no monuments.

38 NA-ZI-URU-DAS.

Nazi-urudas, the next king in the list, has also left no records.

39 MI-LI-SI-HU.

Mili-sihu follows Nazi-urudas, according to the list. The first element in the name Mili is equivalent to *nisu*, "a man."

40 BUR-NA-BUR-YA-A-AS.

This monarch is probably the first bearing the name Burna-buryas; a later king of the same name has left some inscriptions. *Burna* is equivalent to the Assyrian *ki-din*.

41 KA-ARA-BEL.

This name is the last in our fragmentary list of monarchs; here there is a break in the succession, until we come to Harbi-sihu. To this interval perhaps belongs the following monarch:—

42 SA-GA-SAL-TI-YA-AS.

Saga-saltiyas is mentioned in an inscription of Nabonidus,¹ he appears to have rebuilt the temples of the Sun and Venus at Sippara. The passage is as follows:

“ digging the memorial cylinder of Bit-ulmas
 written record of SAGA-SALTIYAS (in) that
 digging I saw also . . . his written record, recorded:
 ‘(SAGA-SALTIYAS) the supreme ruler,
 the glorious prince am I.
 When (g.) SAMAS and (g.) ANUNIT
 to the dominion of the country my name proclaimed,
 the power of all people in my hand they placed.
 Then Bit-parra the house of (g.) SAMAS
 of (c.) Sippara my Lord, and Bit-ulmas
 the house of ANUNIT of (c.) Sippara,
 (g.) ANUNIT my Lady, which were from the time
 of Zabū in ancient days;
 their chamber walls had fallen in.
 Their chamber walls I destroyed,
 their foundations I opened, the earth I removed,
 their chambers I cleared, their structure
 I caused to make, I filled their foundations with earth,
 I restored their walls to their places.

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 69, col. 3, lines 19 to 43.

I beautified their structure, greater than before
 I caused them to be, to please (g.) SAMAS
 and (g.) ANUNIT. At my building work
 may their heart rejoice . . .
 progress to my days may they give,
 exaltation to my head
 prosperity to my years, giving delight for ever
 supremacy of temple justice may they give,
 long life may they grant me.'

This is the written record of SAGA-SALTIYAS
 King of Babylon the former king,
 who Bit-ulmas of Sippara to ANUNIT built ;
 his memorial cylinder," etc.

This text is remarkable, as in it Nabonidus gives the copy of the record of Saga-saltiyas, which he states that he found when digging the foundations of Bit-ulmas.

43 HAR-BI-SI-HU.

This king is mentioned on an Assyrian tablet, which gives an account of some controversies between Babylonia and Assyria. The style of the tablet is very difficult, and I cannot give a complete translation, but I gather from this and other sources the following details. Assyria had been rising in power. Its first rulers were called Patesi or "Viceroys" of Assur, at this time they had assumed the title "Lord of countries," and a ruler named Assur-zikir-esir governed Assyria ; he was succeeded by Ninip-tugulu-assur, who has the title "Lord of countries," and who was engaged in the controversy with Harbi-sihu.

44 KA-RA-IN-DA-AS.

' With this monarch, who reigned in the 15th century B.C., Babylonian history becomes a little more certain. Kara-indas was the contemporary of Assur-bel-nisi-su, King of Assyria.

¹ About B.C. 1475.

These two monarchs whose dominions joined, came to an agreement respecting the boundary line of their respective dominions; this transaction is described in a tablet called "The Synchronous History of Assyria and Babylonia." The affairs of Kara-indas are related in col. 1, lines 1 to 4, as follows :—

"KARA-INDAS King of Kar-dunias,
and ASSUR-BEL-NISI-SU King of Assyria,
a covenant in their borders with each other covenanted,
and a pledge concerning those boundaries
to each other gave."

There are two unpublished inscriptions of Kara-indas in the British Museum, in which he takes the titles king of Kar-dunias and king of the Kassu (or Kassî). These are the only Babylonian inscriptions in which these two titles occur; the text is as follows :—

"To (g.) NANA Lady of Bit-anna, his Lady,
KARA-INDAS the powerful King, King of (c.) Babylon,
King of Sumir and Akkad, King of Kassû,
King of Karuduniyas, Bit-anna the house built."

The name of the Kassu is written Ka-as-su-u, and Karuduniyas is written Ka-ru-du-ni-ya-as.

45 BUR-NA-BUR-YA-AS, BUR-NA-BU-RI-YA-AS. BUR-NA-BUR-YA-A-AS.

² This monarch, the successor of Kara-indas, was contemporary with Buzur-assur king of Assyria, he continued the treaty with Assyria. The Synchronous History speaks of him as follows, lines 5 to 7 :

"BUZUR-ASSUR King of Assyria
and BURNA-BUR-YAS King of Kar-dunias, settled,
and those respective boundaries established."

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 65.

² About B.C. 1450.

There is an inscription of Burna-buryas from the Temple of the Sun at Larsa.

INSCRIPTION OF BURNA-BURIYAS, FROM SENKEREH.

¹ "To SAMAS great Lord of heaven and earth,
the powerful Ruler, the living spirit of Larsa,
his King, BURNA-BURIYAS the powerful King,
King of Babylon, King of Sumir and Akkad,
Bit-parra the old house, which in remote days
had been constructed, he built, its site he restored."

This old house, constructed in remote days, was the temple built by Uruk, some of the foundation bricks of which still remain.

We now come to a difficulty ; the Synchronous History informs us that the next king of Assyria, Assur-ubalid, married his daughter to the king of Babylon ; but we are left in doubt whether Burna-buryas, or his son, was king of Babylon at this time ; a son of Burna-buryas named Kuri-galzu or Durigalzu, has left some monuments ; but it has been suggested that he was placed on the throne some years later by the Assyrians.

46 KA-RA-HAR-DA-AS.

² Kara-hardas was the offspring of the marriage between, Muballidat-serua, daughter of Assur-ubalid, king of Assyria and the king of Babylon, and he ascended the Babylonian throne ; but the Kassi made a revolt against him, and murdered him, and placed an usurper named Nazi-bugas on the throne. The account in the Synchronous History, lines 8 to 12, is :

"In the time of ASSUR-UBALID King of Assyria,
KARA-HARDAS King of Kar-dunias
son of MUBALLIDAT-SERUA daughter of ASSUR-UBALID ;
the men of the Kassi revolted and slew him.

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 4, No. XIII. ² About B.C. 1425.

NAZI-BUGAS a man of low parentage
to the kingdom to be over them they raised."

47 NA-ZI-BU-GA-AS.

¹ Under this reign, we are informed in the Synchronous History that a king of Assyria (whose name is lost by the mutilation of the tablet) made an expedition to Babylonia, defeated and slew Nazi-bugas, and placed some relative of Burna-buriyas on the throne; this passage is in lines 13 to 17, as follows:—

" to avenge (KARA-HARDAS)
to Kar-dunias marched,
(NAZI-BUGAS King of Kar-du)-nias he slew,
(DURRI-GALZU(?) son of BUR)NA-BURYAS
(in the throne he seated)."

48 KU-RI-GAL-ZU, KU-UR-GAL-ZU.

² The passage given above I have restored, inserting the name of Kuri-galzu, who is known to have been the son of Burna-buriyas. Kuri-galzu restored many of the old Babylonian temples and built a city which was named after himself Dur-kuri-galzu.

INSCRIPTIONS OF KURI-GALZU.

³ "To (g.) BEL King of the earth, his King,
KURI-GALZU High Priest of (g.) BEL,
Bit-u-gal of his delight its tower he has built."

⁴ " (To (g.) UR his King), KURI-GALZU
High Priest of (g.) BEL, the powerful King,
King of Sumir and Akkad, King of the four races,
Bit-rub-mah the old house, which from remote days
had been long constructed, I built, its site I restored."
'This building had been founded by Uruk, restored by

¹ About B.C. 1400.

² About B.C. 1375.

³ From Mound of Tel 'Aswad (Akkerkuf), *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 4, No. XIV. 1.

⁴ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, W.A., Vol. 1, p. 4, No. XIV, 2 and 3.

Ismi-dagan, again restored by Kudur-mabuk, and was now rebuilt by Kuri-galzu; bricks of all four epochs were found on the spot by explorers.

On a circular ornament :—

“KURI-GALZU King of nations son of
BURNA-BURRAS King of (c.) Babylon.”

On the pupil of the eye from a statue :—

“To (g.) MARUDUK his King,
KURI-GALZU son of BURNA-BURRAS, made.”

From the time of Kuri-galzu there is a break in the history of Babylonia, and we know nothing of its rulers until we come to Tugulti-ninip.¹

49 TUGULTI-NINIP.

¹ Tugulti-ninip was king of Assyria and conquered Babylonia, thus uniting the whole Euphrates valley under one sceptre. A fragmentary inscription of Tugulti-ninip is in the British Museum, but he is chiefly known by the notices of his reign in the inscriptions of two later kings; these are :—

1 Extract from the Genealogy of Vul-nirari III :—²

“Descendant of TUGULTI-NINIP King of Assyria
King of Sumir and Akkad.”

2 Tablet of Sennacherib :—³

“TUGULTI-NINIP King of nations, son of
SALIMAN-USUR King of Assyria, conqueror of Kar-dunias.
The destroyer of my writing and my record, may ASSUR,⁴
and VUL his name from his country
root out”

This was upon the seal of zamat stone :—

“This seal from Assyria to Akkad in war was carried off.

¹ I have since found the names of Mili-sihu, son of Kuri-galzu and Merodach Baladan son of Mili-sihu.

² About B.C. 1300. ³ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 35, No. III, lines 19, 20.

⁴ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 3, p. 4, No. II.

I SIN-AHI-IRIBA King of Assyria, after 600 years
Babylon conquered, and from the goods of Babylon
caused it to be brought out."

50 VUL-PAL-I-DIN-NA, VUL-PAL-I-DI-NA.

This monarch, who has left two inscriptions, is, I believe,
the king whose mutilated name is found on a fragment of
the Synchronous History.¹

This passage is as follows :—

"BEL-KUDUR-UZUR King of Assyria
had slain BEL-KUDUR-UZUR. VUL-(PAL-IDINNA)
in the midst of the war also NINIP-PAL-ESIR.
to his country returned. His numerous warriors
(he gathered and) to (c.) Assur
to capture it he marched, (NINIP-PAL-ESIR)
in his camp attacked him and overcame him,
and (to his country he returned)."

This passage appears to mention the killing of Bel-
kudur-uzur king of Assyria, and a war between his successor
Ninip-pal-esir and the king of Babylon. The Babylonian
monarch advancing to capture Assur the capital of Assyria,
where he was attacked and driven back by the Assyrian
king.

On an inscription of Vul-pal-idinna from Hymer :—²

"VUL-PAL-IDINNA King of (c.) Babylon Bit-mite-urris
the tower of (g.) ZAMAMA . . . built"

There is a second inscription of Vul-pal-idinna³ which I
translate as follows :—

"VUL-PAL-IDINNA King of (c.) Babylon built
Nimit-maruduk the wall, and the ditch
of the wall of (c.) Nipur to BEL his Lord."

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 3, p. 4, No. III, lines 19 to 24.

² *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XXII, from Hymer.

³ Oppert's *Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan*.

51 ZA-MA-MA-ZIKIR-IDDINA.

¹ In the reign of this monarch, Assur-dan King of Assyria son of Ninip-pal-eser, invaded Babylonia and ravaged the country, carrying the spoil to Assyria. This is recorded in the Synchronous History.²

“In the time of ZAMAMA-ZIKIR-IDDINA

King of (Kar-dunias), ASSUR-DAN King of Assyria to Kardunias (marched), the cities of Zabā, Irriya, and Agarsal (he captured, and) (their spoil) in abundance to Assyria (he carried).”

52 NABU-KUDUR-UZUR.

³ Nabu-kudur-uzur, or Nebuchadnezzar I, was contemporary with Assur-risilim king of Assyria, grandson of the Assur-dan mentioned above. Nebuchadnezzar invaded Assyria three times; the details of two of these invasions are given in the Synchronous History; the account of the first is unfortunately lost. The history runs as follows:—

⁴ “. and to his country returned.

After this NABU-(KUDUR-UZUR) his *nibise* took, to the Zanqi border of Assyria to capture he marched, ASSUR-RISILIM King of Assyria his chariots gathered to march against him, NABU-KUDUR-UZUR when the *nibise* would not advance, his baggage in the fire burned, and was compelled to return to his country.

NABU-KUDUR-UZUR his chariots and charioteers to the Idi border of Assyria to capture marched, ASSUR-RISILIM his chariots and charioteers to the assistance sent, with him he fought, his overthrow he accomplished, his warriors he slew; his army he forsook, fifty of his chariots

¹ About B.C. 1200. ² *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 3, p. 4, lines 25 to 28.

³ About B.C. 1150. ⁴ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 65, col. 2, lines 1 to 13.

and harness they had taken,
a standard going before him they had taken."

53 MARUDUK-NADIN-AHI.

¹ Maruduk-nadin-ahi governed Babylon during the time of Tugulti-pal-esir king of Assyria, son of Assur-risilim. He twice made war with Assyria; the first time he defeated Tiglath-Pileser and captured the city of Ekali, carrying away the images of the Assyrian gods Vul and Sala; these images remained in the hands of the Babylonians 418 years, until they were recovered by Sennacherib on his conquest of Babylon. The notice of this war is found in the Bavian Inscription of Sennacherib.²

"VUL and SALA the gods of Ekali which

MARUDUK-NADIN-AHI King of Akkad,

in the time of TUGULTI-PAL-ESIR King of Assyria,

had carried off and brought to Babylon,

after 418 years from Babylon I brought them out

and to Ekali to their places I restored them."

The Synchronous History of Babylonia and Assyria gives no details of this war, which was disastrous to the Assyrian arms, but it records a second campaign commenced by a battle in the neighbourhood of the lower Zab, in which Tiglath-Pileser recovered the advantage, and, pursuing Maruduk-nadin-ahi into Babylonia, overran the whole of the upper country as far as Babylon; this account is given thus :³

"TUGULTI-PAL-ESIR King of Assyria

with MARUDUK-NADIN-AHI King of Kardunias,

the second time the line of battle of all the chariots,

over against the city of the lower Zab,

¹ About B.C. 1125. ² *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 3, p. 14, lines 48 to 50.

³ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 65, col. 2, lines 14 to 24.

in the vicinity of Ar-zuhina made. In the second year in the whole of upper Akkad he destroyed, the cities Dur-kurigalzu, Sippar of Samas, Sippar of Anunit, Babili, and Upe, great cities, and their fortresses, at that time from (c.) Agarsal to (c.) Lubdi he spoiled, from Suhi (Shua) to (c.) Rapiqi through its whole extent (he conquered)."

In the British Museum there are two contracts dated in the reign of Maruduk-nadin-ahi,¹ the date of one is : "City of Babylon month Sabadu in the first year of MARUDUK-NADIN-AHI the King." The second² is dated "City of Dindu . . . month Ululu 27th day, 10th year of MARUDUK-NADIN-AHI the King." This document is interesting, from the number of witnesses to the contract.

54 MARUDUK-SA-PI-IK-ZIR-RAT.

³This monarch was contemporary with Assur-bel-kala, king of Assyria, who was son of Tiglath-Pileser I. In the time of these monarchs, the two states of Babylonia and Assyria were on friendly terms, but on the death of Maruduk-sapik-zirrat the Babylonians raised to the throne a man, part only of whose name is preserved.

55 SAD-U-NI.⁴

⁵This monarch appears not to have been of a royal race, and his accession broke the truce which had existed between Assyria and Babylonia ; Assur-bel-kala king of Assyria then invaded Babylonia, and claims to have returned to Assyria with the spoil of the expedition. These events are recorded in the following passage from the Synchronous History,⁶ added to by a new fragment :—

¹ One is published, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 66.

² *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 3, p. 43.

³ About B.C. 1100.

⁴ The first portion of this name is missing.

⁵ About B.C. 1080.

⁶ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 65, line 25.

“In the time of ASSUR-BEL-KALA King of Assyria
 (and) MARUDUK-SAPIK-ZIRRAṬ King of Babylonia
 (a treaty) concluding peace (with)
 each other they made.
 (In the time of ASSUR-BEL-)KALA King of Assyria
 (MARUDUK-SAPIK-ZIRRAṬ King of) Kar-dunias
 his death took him SADUNI
 of unknown parentage (to the kingdom over)
 them they appointed.
 (ASSUR-BEL-KALA) King of Assyria (to Kar-duni-)as
 went (their spoil) to Assyria he brought”

56 NABU-ZIKUR-ISKUN.

¹ This monarch is mentioned in a fragmentary passage of the Synchronous History, which states that in his time the Assyrians invaded Babylonia and took some cities, including Bag-dadu² the passage is as follows:—

“ NABU-ZIKIR-ISKUN
 fought and his overthrow accomplished
 ban-bala, (c.) Bagdadu . . . great cities
 (he captured and) their spoil in abundance (to Assyria)
 he brought nimati his death then took
 him their daughters to each other they gave,
 a treaty concluding peace with each other they made,
 and the people of Assyria and Akkad
 with each other traded.

From the mound of Bit-bara which is over Zabā,
 to the mound of Batani and
 of (c.) Zabdani, the boundary was established.”

So far as our records go, it appears that this state of peace continued with only one interruption for about 150 years, and when war recommenced in the time of Assur-nazir-pal

¹ About B.C. 1050.

² Modern Baghdad.

king of Assyria, the two countries occupied the same boundaries that are here described.

57 IRI-BA-MARUDUK, IRI-BA-MARUDUK.

The date of this monarch is unknown, and I only place him here provisionally; he is known from an inscription on a weight in the form of a duck and a text of his son Maruduk-bal-iddina. The text on the weight is as follows:

“Thirty mana-gina of the palace
of IRI-BA-MARUDUK King of Babylon.”

58 MARUDUK-BAL-IDDINA.

A monarch bearing this name reigned at Babylon during the time of Sargon and Sennacherib, kings of Assyria. I have assumed that the king of the brick inscription is an earlier monarch of the same name, because he gives the name of his father Iriba-maruduk a Babylonian monarch, while the Maruduk-bal-iddina of the time of Sargon is generally called son of Yakin. The royal name on the brick,¹ has hitherto been read Maruduk-iddin-ahi, but on a close inspection of the brick I find that this reading is erroneous. The inscription reads:

“To (g.) NIN-DIMIRRI Mistress of the earth
his Lady MARUDUK-BAL-IDDINA King of (c.) Babylon
son of IRI-BA-MARUDUK King of Sumir and Akkad
Bit-anna the house of her delight built.”

59 SI-BIR.

² This monarch is mentioned in the inscriptions of Assurnazir-pal king of Assyria, his date is uncertain; the notice of Sibir is as follows:

“(c.) Adlila which SIBIR King of Kar-dunias
had captured and destroyed
and to mounds and ruins had reduced
ASSUR-NAZIR-PAL King of Assyria again took.”

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XVII. ² About B.C. probably 1000.

³ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 22, line 84.

60 NABU-BAL-IDDINA.

¹ Nabu-bal-iddina king of Babylonia is mentioned in several inscriptions; he first appears upon the scene B.C. 879, when Assur-nazir-pal king of Assyria attacked the Suhi or Shuhites. Sadudu king of Suhi received aid from the Kassî, and Nabu-bal-idinna sent him fifty chariots, but Sadudu and his allies were defeated, and Suhi conquered by the Assyrians.²

“(c.) Sūru the fortified city of Sadudu of Suhi I attacked.

To the numerous warriors of the Kassî he trusted,
and to make war and fight to my presence came.

The city I attacked and after two days' fighting,
I forced an entrance. From the face of my

powerful soldiers SADUDU with 70 of his men,
to save his life into the Euphrates threw himself.

The city I captured. 50 chariots and their soldiers
of NABU-BAL-IDDINA King of Kar-dunias,

ZABDANU his brother and 3,000 of their fighting men,

BEL-BAL-IDDINA the officer who went before their army,
with them in hand I captured,

many soldiers with the sword I destroyed.

Silver, gold, lead, *kami sadi*³ stone shining,

the goods of his palace, chariots,

horses trained to the yoke, harness of men,

harness of horses, the females of his palace,

his great spoil I carried off;

the city I pulled down and destroyed.

Glory and power over Suhi I obtained.

The fear of my dominion to Kar-dunias reached,

the terror of my soldiers over Kaldū (Chaldea) swept.”

After the failure of his attempt to assist the Suhi, Nabu-

¹ About B.C. 880 to 853.

² The account of this war is given in *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 23, lines 16 to 24.

³ Unknown stone.

bal-iddina made peace with Assyria, which lasted until his death about B.C. 853. In the British Museum there are some fragments of a treaty made between Nabu-bal-iddina king of Kar-dunias and Shalmaneser son of Assur-nazir-pal king of Assyria.

61 MARUDUK-ZIKIR-IZKUR.

¹ This monarch the reading of whose name is uncertain, was the son of Nabu-bal-iddina, and succeeded his father about B.C. 753. The foster-brother of Maruduk-zikir-izkur named Maruduk-bel-usate, then revolted against him, and took from him the province of Akkad. These events brought about the interference of Shalmaneser king of Assyria, who made two expeditions to Babylonia to assist Maruduk-zikir-izkur; the first in B.C. 852, when he advanced as far as the river Turnat and took the cities of Meturnat and Lahiru; the second in the next year, when he killed Maruduk-bel-usate, and advanced to Babylon; here he received the submission of the Chaldees. There are four different accounts of these events, they are:

² "To avenge MARUDUK-ZIKIR-IZKUR to Akkad I marched,
MARUDUK-BEL-USATE I slew.
To (c.) Kutu (Cutha) (c.) Babili and (c.) Bar-sip (Borsippa)
I entered, my sacrifices and libations to the gods
of the cities of Akkad I poured out.
To Kaldi I descended, the tribute of the
Kings of Kaldi all of them I received."

³ "In my eighth year⁴
MARUDUK-ZIKIR-IZKUR King of Kar-dunias,
MARUDUK-BEL-USATE his foster-brother against him
revolted. Swiftly to avenge MARUDUK-ZIKUR-IZKUR

¹ About B.C. 753 to 730.

² Layard, *Inscriptions*, p. 76, lines 14 to 20, on base of Statue.

³ Layard, *Inscriptions*, p. 91, lines 73 to 84, on Black Obelisk.

⁴ Or expedition. The word *pal* some translate year, others expedition.

I marched and (c.) Me-turnat I captured.
 In my ninth year a second time to Akkad
 I marched, (c.) Gananate I besieged.
 MARUDUK-BEL-USATE terrible fear of ASSUR
 and MARUDUK overwhelmed him,
 and to save his life to the mountains he ascended ;
 after him I pursued.

MARUDUK-BEL-USATE and the rebels with him,
 with the sword I destroyed.

To the great cities I marched,
 sacrifices and libations in Babili, Barsip,
 and Kute I made, offerings to the great gods I portioned.
 To Kaldi I descended, their cities I captured,
 the tribute of the Kings of Kaldi I received,
 the terror of my soldiers to the ocean swept."

- ¹ "In my eighth year in the time of
 MARUDUK-ZIKIR-IZKUR King of Kar-dunias,
 MARUDUK-BEL-USATE his brother against him revolted :
 to avenge (him) I marched
 (c.) Meturnat and (c.) Lahiru I captured.
 In my ninth year in my second expedition
 (c.) Gananate I captured. MARUDUK-BEL-USATE
 to save his life to (c.) Halman fled, after him I pursued,
 MARUDUK-BEL-USATE and the rebels with him,
 with the sword, I destroyed. To (c.) Babili I went,
 sacrifices and libations in Babili, Barsip,
 and Kute I made. To Kaldi I descended,
 their cities I captured, to the sea which
 Marute is called, I marched.
 The tribute of ADINI son of DAKURI,
 and MUSALLIM-MARUDUK son of UKANI,
 silver, gold, valuable wood and horns of oxen
 in (c.) Babili I received."

¹ *Layard, Inscriptions*, p. 15, lines 23 to 29, on Back of Bull.

¹ In the time of SALIMANU-USUR King of Assyria
and NABU-BAL-IDDINA King of Kar-dunias,
a treaty concluding peace with each other they made.
In the time of SALIMANU-USUR King of Assyria,
NABU-BAL-IDDINA King of Kar-dunias
his death took him, MARUDUK-ZIKIR-IZKUR
in the throne of his father sat,
MARUDUK-BEL-USATE his brother
against him revolted and captured Akkad.
Swiftly to avenge, SALIMANU-USUR King of Assyria
to the aid of MARUDUK-ZIKIR-IZKUR
King of Kar-dunias marched. MARUDUK-BEL-USATE
the rebel king and the rebels who were with him,
he slew. To Kute Babili”

The treaty between Shalmaneser and Nabu-bal-iddina
here mentioned, is probably the one, fragments of which are
in the British Museum.

62 MARUDUK-BALAD-SU-IQBI.

² This monarch is known to us from an inscription of
Samsi-vul king of Assyria,³ which gives the following account
of an invasion of Babylonia by the Assyrians:—

“In my fourth expedition, the fifteenth day of Sivanu,
to Kar-dunias I went.

The river Zab I crossed.

In the neighbourhood of (c.) Zaddi

and (c.) Zabā crossing the ridges of the mountains,
three powerful lions I slew.

Ebih I passed through : (c.) Me-turnat I besieged ;

terrible fear of ASSUR and MARUDUK

the great gods my Lords overwhelmed them,

my yoke they took. Those people I brought out,

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 65, lines 45 to 68.

² About B.C. 730 to 710.

³ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 34, col. 3, line 70 to col. 4, line 45.

and with their goods and their gods
to the midst of my country I brought them.
To the people of my country I appointed them.
The river Turnat in its flood I crossed,
(c.) Garsale his royal city, and 200 cities round it,
I pulled down, destroyed, and in the fire burned.
Yalman I passed through : (c.) Dihibina I besieged ;
the terror of ASSUR overwhelmed them,
my yoke they took. 300 cities and their people,
their goods, and their furniture,
from the midst of that city I brought them.
(c.) Datebir, (c.) Iz . . . ya which are beside
(c.) Ganasutikanu, and 200 cities round them I captured,
330 of their warriors I slew, their spoil, their goods,
their furniture, and their gods I carried off,
their plantations I trampled on,
their cities I pulled down, destroyed,
and in the fire burned. The people who
before my powerful soldiers fled,
to (c.) Kiribtī-alani their fortress entered ;
that city I attacked, I captured.
500 of their warriors I slew, their spoil,
their goods, their furniture, their gods,
their oxen, and their sheep, I carried off.
The city I pulled down, destroyed,
and in the fire burned.
Akkad and Kaldi, which from before
the terribleness of my powerful soldiers,
making my fierce attack, who knew no rest :
feared, and to (c.) Dur-papsukul the royal city
(*which like an island* in the river,
in the midst of the waters was situated ;
for attacking by my army it was difficult)
and into 447 cities round it, they entered.

That city in my course I captured,
 3,000 of their fighting men with the sword I destroyed ;
 their blood like a stream of water the neighbourhood
 of their city I caused to spread over.
 The slain of their army in heaps I piled.
 3,000 alive in hand I captured.
 His royal *carriage*, the treasures of his palace,
the women of his palace alive, his goods,
 his furniture, his gods of his palace
 without number from the midst of that city
 I carried off, the slain of his army like
 to the army of my country, were consumed.
 That city I pulled down, destroyed, and in the fire burned.
 MARUDUK-BALAD-SU-IQBI to the might
 of his army trusted, and the Chaldeans,
 Elamites, Zimri, and Arameans,
 with his great army without number he gathered,
 to make war and fight to my presence he came.
 Over Ahadabā, in the vicinity of Dur-papsukul
 the fortress, his army he placed.
 With him I fought, his overthrow I accomplished,
 5,000 slain of the people I left,
 2,000 alive in hand I captured, 100 of his chariots,
 200 of his war carriages, his royal pavilion,
 parasol, and his camp I took from him."

The account of this expedition of the Assyrian army shows that the Assyrians did not advance much beyond the River Turnat. The whole affair reads like a sudden raid into a country unprepared and taken by surprise. No advance into the interior of the country is claimed, and although the force assembled by Maruduk-balad-su-iqbi was defeated, no permanent results appear to have followed.

The date of this expedition is uncertain, but it probably took place between B.C. 820 and 815.

Samsi-vul again marched into Babylonia in B.C. 815. The statement of this expedition is found in the Canon History, which is completed as follows :—¹

“Eponym MUSIK-SAR the Tartan.

To the city of Diri the great god to the city of Deri descended.”

The meaning of the great god descending is unknown ; this deity was the presiding god of Deri. Two other expeditions are mentioned in the Canon History during this reign, B.C. 813 and 812, they are :—

“Eponym SAMAS-KUMUA prefect of Salmat. To Kaldi.”

“Eponym NABU-QATI-ZABAT prefect of Arbaha.

To Babylon.”

The inscriptions supply no details of these three wars.”

63 SA-AM-MU-RA-MAT, (SEMIRAMIS).

² This queen was the wife of Vulnirari king of Assyria, she is usually included among the Babylonian sovereigns, but I doubt if she was in any way connected with that country. One inscription mentioning her is known,³ it is on a stone statue of Nebo, erected by the governor of Calah in honour of Semiramis and her husband.

The Assyrian Canon History registers five expeditions to Babylonia during this reign, these were in the years B.C. 796, 795, 791, 783, and 782. They are given as follows :—

“Eponym MARUDUK-SADUA prefect of Salmat.

To the city of Deri.”

“Eponym KIN-ABUA prefect of Tushan.

To the city of Deri.”

“Eponym KIMA-SAMAS prefect of Isana. To Ituha.”

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 52, line 3.

² About B.C. 800.

³ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 35, No. 11.

“Eponym NINIP-NAZIR prefect of Mazamua. To Ituha.”

“Eponym ILVA-LIHA prefect of Nazibina. To Ituha.”

No details of any of these expeditions are given, but in an inscription printed in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions*¹ there is the following reference to Chaldea :—

“The Kings of Kaldi all of them submission made,
taxes and tribute for after days over them I fixed.
Babili, Barsip, and Kuti the offerings of BEL, NABU,
and NERGAL brought, sacrifices and libations valuable.”

The history of Babylonia again becomes a blank, until we come to the time of Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria, B.C. 745.

In the interval of thirty-seven years, from the end of the reign of Vulnirari to the accession of Tiglath-Pileser, there were four expeditions to Babylonia, in the years B.C. 777, 771, 769, and 767, which are related as follows :—

“Eponym NABU-ISDI-UKIN the Tugulu. To Ituha.”

“Eponym ASSUR-DAN King of Assyria.

To (c.) Gannanati.”

“Eponym BEL-ILAI prefect of Arbaha. To Ituha.”

“Eponym QURDI-ASSUR prefect of Ahi-zuhina.

To (c.) Gannanati.”

As in all the former notices, we have no details of these expeditions

64 NABONASSAR.

¹ The name of Nabonassar has not been found among the Babylonian kings mentioned in the Cuneiform Inscriptions, but private persons bearing the name are mentioned. This name is written Na-bi-ū-na-zi-ir and Nabu-nazir, Nabonassar king of Babylon, whose reign is recorded in Ptolemy's Canon, was contemporary with the first part of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II king of Assyria. Tiglath-Pileser invaded Babylonia in B.C. 745, and has left four records of his ex-

¹ Vol. I, p. 35, No. I.

² About B.C. 747 to 733.

pedition, but he does not mention Nabonassar or allude to any king as reigning in this district. The two principal of these accounts are as follows:¹

“ them and they went.

Those cities a second time I built ;
 over the mound of Kamri which the city of Humut
 they call a city I built, from its foundation
 to its summit I constructed, I completed.
 A palace a seat of my Royalty in the midst I fixed,
 Kar-assur its name I called,
 the soldiers of ASSUR in the midst I set up,
 people of countries the conquests of my hand
 in the midst I placed them,
 with the men of Assyria I placed them.
 The river Patti which from days remote
 had been I excavated and
 within it I enclosed refreshing waters
 Dur-kurigalzu, Sipar of Samas,
 Pazitu of the Dunaïtes, Kisik, the Nakri, the Tane,
 Kalain, the river Sumandasi of the Dunani,
 Qirbutu . . . le, Būdu, Pahhaz, and Qinnipur,
 cities of Kar-dunias to the midst of the river
 Ukne I possessed,
 to the borders of Assyria I added.
 My General prefect over them I appointed.
 From among their sheep and oxen which I
 captured 240 sheep to ASSUR my Lord I . . .
 those which I
 captured in the government of the Tartan,
 the government of the Lord of the palace,
 the government of the Rab-bitur,
 the government of Barhaziya, and the government
 of Mazamua . . . I placed,

¹ *Layard, Inscriptions, p. 52.*

under one command I caused them to be,
 and with the people of Assyria I settled them.
 The yoke of ASSUR my Lord
 which placed my
 my a second time I arranged,
 and Assyria to a city I built,
 a palace a seat of my Royalty
 its name I called, the soldiers of ASSUR my Lord
 in with the people of Assyria I placed them.
 A statue which by the might
 of ASSUR my Lord over the countries I had
 ten talents of gold to *dante*,
 one hundred talents of
 his tribute I received."

- ¹ "The tribes of Ituha, Rubuha, Hamarani,
 Luhua, Harilu, Rubbu, Rapiqu, Hiranu, Rabilu,
 Naziru, Gulusu, Nabatu, Rahiqu, Ka
 Rummulusu, Adile, Kipre, Ubudu, Gurumu,
 Bagdadu, Hindaru, Damunu, Dunanu, Nilqu Rade,
 Da , Ubulu, Karmaha, Amlatu, Ruha, Qabiha,
 Lehitau, Marusu, Amatu, Hagaranu,
 and the cities of Dur-kurigalzu, Adile,
 Birtu of Sarragitu, Birtu of Labbanat,
 and Birtu of Kar-bel-matati, the Arameans all of them
 who are by the side of the rivers Tigris,
 Euphrates, Surappi, to the midst of the Ukni,
 which is by the side of the lower sea I captured,
 their warriors I slew, their spoil I carried off.
 The Arameans all there were,
 to the borders of Assyria I added,
 and my Generals prefects over them I made.
 Upon the mound of Kamri which the city of Humut they
 call

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 67, lines 5 to 15.

a city I built. Kar-assur its name I called.
 People the conquests of my hand in the midst I placed.
 In Sipar, Nipur, Babili, Barsip, Kute, Kisu, Kilmad,
 and Ur, cities unrivalled, valuable sacrifices
 and libations to BEL and ZIRAT-BANIT,
 NABU and URMITU, NERGAL and LAZ,
 the great gods my Lords, I poured out,
 and they strengthened my feet.
 The whole of Kar-dunias to its utmost extent I possess,
 and I rule its kingdom.
 The Puqudu like corn I swept away,
 their fighting men I slew,
 their abundant spoil I carried off.
 The Puqudu in the cities of Lahiru,
 of Idibirina, Hilimmu, and Pillutu,
 which border on Elam,
 to the boundaries of Assyria I added,
 and in the hands of my General
 the prefect of Arrapha I placed them.
 The Kaldudu all there were I removed,
 and in the midst of Assyria I placed them."

65 NABU-U-SAB-SI.

This prince is probably the Nabius of Ptolemy, who reigned B.C. 733-731. Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria invaded Babylonia a second time B.C. 731, and defeated and captured Nabu-usabsi at Sarrapanu his capital. Nabu-usabsi was captured and crucified on the wall of his city. One inscription describing these events is published :¹

"Kaldi through its extent in hostility I swept.

NABU-USABSI son of SILANI, his fighting men
 on the walls of Sarrapan his city I slew,
 and in front of the great gate of his city

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 67, lines 15 to 17.

on a cross I raised him.

I subdued his country,

Sarrapanu to a heap of earth (I reduced)

I captured 5,500 of their people and children.

His spoil, his furniture, his goods, his wife,

his sons, his daughters, and his gods I carried off.

That city and the cities round it I pulled down (destroyed, in the fire) I burned, and to mounds and heaps I reduced."

Another account is as follows :¹

"Bit-Silani, through its extent like a whirlwind

I destroyed. Sarrabanu their great royal city

like a whirlwind I destroyed, and its spoil carried off ;

NABU-USABSI their King before the great gate

of his city on a cross I raised.

His spoil, his wife, his sons, his daughters,

his goods, and the treasures of his palace I carried off."

In spite of the statement of Ptolemy's list, it is very doubtful if this prince ruled at Babylon. It is probable that the three last monarchs of this epoch, Nabonassar or Nabunazir, Nabius or Nabu-usabsi, and Chinzirus or Kin-ziru, were Chaldean princes, who kept their independence after Tiglath-Pileser had conquered Babylonia B.C. 745.

66 KIN-ZIRU, (CHINZIRUS).

¹ Kinziru, according to the annals of Tiglath-Pileser, was a Chaldean prince who held out against the Assyrian power after the death of Nabu-usabsi B.C. 731, and Ptolemy inserts his name among the Babylonian rulers at this period. The account of the war between Tiglath-Pileser and Kinziru is as follows :—³

¹ *Layard, Inscriptions*, p. 17, lines 8 to 11.

² B.C. 731 to 727. Kinziru or Chinzirus. In the lithographed copy of the inscription containing this name, there is an error of *gab* for *ziru* which has prevented the earlier recognition of this monarch.

³ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 67, lines 23 to 25.

“ KIN-ZIRU son of AMUKKAN,
in Sapē his royal city I besieged him,
his numerous fighting men in front of his
great gates I slew, the groves of palm trees
before his wall I cut down, I did not leave one ;
its forests which extended over the country I destroyed,
his enclosures I threw down, and filled up the interiors.
All his cities I pulled down, destroyed,
and burned in the fire. Bit-silani, Bit-amukkani,
and Bit-sahalli through their extent
like a whirlwind I destroyed,
and to mounds and ruins I reduced.”

Tiglath-Pileser does not claim to have captured Sape, although he besieged it, but he took possession of Babylon and proclaimed himself king of Babylonia, formally annexing the country to Assyria.

From this time the history of Babylonia is little more than a description of a series of revolts against the Assyrian power, each rising being put down, sometimes with great severity. This state of affairs lasted about a century : when Nabu-pal-uzur an Assyrian general, sent to quell a revolt in Chaldea, on the conclusion of that service was made tributary monarch at Babylon. Nabu-pal-uzur, or Nabopolassar, some years after he was established at Babylon, having made preparations for revolt, threw off the Assyrian yoke, and, with the aid of the Medes, destroyed Nineveh. Babylon, under Nebuchadnezzar his son, then became mistress of the world.”



APPENDIX A.

Since the foregoing paper was written, I have thought it worth while to notice some points which have occurred to me. In the first place, as to the divisions of Babylonia; I am now rather of opinion that the district of Akkad, included the country north of Nipur or Niffer, and the district of Sumir, the country from Nipur to the Persian Gulf. There are, however, two other divisions noticed in the Inscriptions, namely, Kar-duniyas and Kaldu or Chaldea. The position of Kar-duniyas is quite uncertain, and I do not know if it was included in either of the before-mentioned divisions. Kaldu was a region named from being inhabited by the Chaldees; it probably had no fixed boundaries, and varied according to the power of the Chaldean tribes. The stronghold of the Chaldeans was on the Persian Gulf.

I here give a translation of an old Babylonian Geographical List, which was probably inscribed between 2,000 and 1,600 B.C. In the first column I give, as nearly as I can, the phonetic values of the names (which are written in Turanian), in the second column I give the Semitic names of those I can identify, and in the third the modern names of some, a few translations and some notes.

It will be observed that, in this list, the first place is given to the great towns in the south of the country, which were early the seats of empire; while Babylon, Cutha, Sippara, Nineveh, and others occur low down in the list, and Borsippa is not mentioned at all:—

1 in-di ki	...	...	... ..
2 Mul-lil ki	Nipur		Niffer
3 Ur-lab ki	Uru		Mugheir
4 Lab-mah ki	...	...	<i>Part</i> of Mugheir
5 Ud-nun ki	...	...	Tel Sifr (?)
6 Ud-lab ki	Larsa		Senkereh

7 Lab ki	Uruk	Warka	
8 Ni-si-in ki	Karrak	...	...
9 Zir-lab ki	Zarilab	...	...
10 Ki-sur-ra ki	...	...	...
11 ki	...	...	...
12 Uh ki	Ruhu	...	...
13 Ma-gan ki	Muzur	Egypt	
14 M-luh-ha ki	Kusu	Ethiopia	
15 Eri-du ki	Eridu	...	...
16 An-du-an ki	Assan	<i>In Elam</i>	
17 Mar-ha-si ki	...	...	...
18 Ha-mar ki	...	...	...
19 Num ki	Elamu	Khuzistan	
20 Gab-gab-ni ki	...	...	...
21 Ni-tuk ki	Asmun	On the Persian Gulf	
22 Su-rim (?) ki	...	...	...
23 Su-ti-ū-ki	...	...	...
24 In-ku ki	...	...	...
25 Gu-ti-ū ki	Guti	...	...
26 Ha-a ki	...	...	...
27 Ha-a ki	...	...	...
28 Ha-a ki	...	...	...
29 E-ki	...	...	...
30 E-ki	...	...	...
31 E-ki	...	...	...
32 Pa ki	...	...	...
33 Pa ki	...	...	...
34 Pa ki	...	...	...
35 Ud ki	...	...	...
36 Ud ki	...	...	...
37 Ud ki	...	...	...
38 Im ki	Muru	...	...
39 Im ki	Muru	...	...
40 Im ki	Muru	...	...

41 Dur-an ki	Duban (?)	...	...
42 Dur-an ki	...	...	...
43 Dur-an ki	...	...	...
44 Dur ki	Diru	...	Duair
45 Dur ki	Diru	...	...
46 Dur ki	Diru	...	...
47 Tu-pur ki	...	...	...
48 Tig-gab-a ki	Kute		Ibrahim
49 Din-tir ki	Babili		Babylon
50 In (?) ki	...	...	...
51 Ninu ki	Ninua		Kouyunjik
52 Ki-pal-mas-da ki	...	...	...
53 Kis ki	Kisu		Hymer
54 Ra-be-qu ki	Rapiqu		...
55 Ne-ri-ib-bu ki	...	...	...
56 Ud-kip-nun ki	Sippar	}	Abu Hubba (?) and Deyr (?)
57 Ud-kip-nun-ul-la ki	Old Sippar		
58 Amar-da ki	Marad		...
59 Te-ni-lu ki	...	...	...
60 Ul-mas ki	...	...	Near Sippara (?)
61 A-ga-de ki	Akkadu		Near Sippara (?)
62 Hi-za ki	...	...	...
63 Ab-nun-na ki	Mullias		...
64 E-al-de-a ki	...	...	...
65 Mas-e-pa-al ki	...	...	...
66 Mas-e-mi-ta ki	...	...	...
67 Mas-e-sar ki	...	...	...
68 A-ta-tak ki	...	...	...
69 Ir sa ki	Alu sa irzitu		Cities of the Earth
70 Ir sa Ka-me ki	Alu sa Sumir		Cities of Sumir
71 Ir sa Ur ki	Alu sa Akkad		Cities of Akkad
72 Ir sa ki-in-gi ki	Alu sa Sumir and Akkad	}	Cities of Sumir and Akkad
[Ur ki]			
73 Ir sa ki-pal ki	Alu sa napalkutu		Foreign Cities

The Babylonians, like other nations of antiquity, supplied their own want of knowledge of the early history of their country by fabulous stories of gods and heroes who were supposed to have ruled in ancient days.

One of these mythical monarchs was Ninip, who was supposed to have been son of the deity Bel. Ninip bears the character of a warrior and hunter ; he is, in fact, a sort of Hercules or Mars, and various exploits were related concerning him : one tablet,¹ speaks of him as follows :—

“The Lord the seed of his father disregarding destroying
the country
the powerful Prince who in his face fear did not carry
NINIP the mighty man who in his image rejoiced
the warrior like a bull destroying his companions
the Lord who to his city returning to his mother was
appointed
the country he rode over seed he begat
violently his name he proclaimed over their kingdom
in the midst of them like a great buffalo his horns he lifted.”

APPENDIX B.

Babylonian Contract Tablets. These tablets are very numerous, there being about 200 specimens in the British Museum. About 100 belong to the time of the early kings, and principally to the reigns of Gamil-sin, Sin-idinna, Nur-vul, Rim-sin, Hammurabi, and Samsu-iluna. They generally exist in duplicate, one copy being inside the other, and relate mostly to sales of land ; but some are leases, other sales of grain, slaves and camels, and a few are loans, wills, and law cases. The outer and inner copies of these documents sometimes present interesting variations. The following is a translation of a law case from this collection, concerning two relatives who quarrelled over some property :—

¹ K, 133.

“ZINI-NANA and IRIBA-SIN a dispute had ;
 to settle it a Judge they took,
 and to the temple of SAMAS they entered.
 In the temple of SAMAS sentence he pronounced ;
 ‘The slave LUSSAMAR-SAMAS and the
 female slave LISLIMA to be the property of IRIBA-SIN ;
 the slave IPSINAN and the female slave ILAMANNA-LAMAZI
 to be the property of ZINI-NANA.’
 A statute in the temple of SAMAS
 and the temple of SIN they proclaimed :
 ‘Brother to brother should be loving,
 brother from brother should not turn,
 should not quarrel, over the whole a brother to a brother
 should be generous, the whole he should not have.
 By the names of (g.) UR, (g.) SAMAS, (g.) MARUDUK,
 (g.) SARKIMUNA and HAMMURABI the King they swore,
 witness DAVKINA-SEME son of APIYATU,
 witness ABIL-SIN son of URMANSE,
 witness SIN-ESSES the Priest,
 witness IBUS-HEA the Dugab, witness SAMAS-MUBANIT
 Priest of (g.) GULA, witness NABI-SIN son of IDIN-SIN,
 witness SIN-UZILI son of ZINI-NANA,
 witness INU-SIN son of SIN-SEME,
 witness SIN-GIMLAANNI the . . . of the Judges.
 Tablet the witnesses impressed in the
 month Addaru in the year when HAMMURABI the King
 (g.) ANU, (g.) ANUNIT and (g.) NANA adorned.’”
 The outer tablet has the following variant for the first
 part of this text :—

“ZINI-NANA and IRIBA-SIN a dispute had ;
 to settle it a Judge they took.
 The Judge to the temple of SAMAS drove them,
 and in the temple of SAMAS the Judge
 judgment gave to them, and sentence pronounced,

their possessions he appointed :

‘ The slave LUSSAMAR-SAMAS,’ ” etc.

This double document is written in Semitic Babylonian, like the tablet of Hammurabi at Paris, but most of the other tablets in the collection are written in Turanian, although occasionally one copy will give a Semitic equivalent for the corresponding Turanian word in the other.



INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

 TRANSLATED BY

REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.

RECTOR OF S. ETHELBURGA.

BABYLONIAN Inscriptions are by no means so replete with interest as the Assyrian. The latter embrace the various expeditions in which the Assyrian monarchs were engaged, and bring us into contact with the names and locality of rivers, cities and mountain-ranges, with cotemporary princes in Judæa and elsewhere, and abound in details as to domestic habits, civil usages, and the implements and modes of warfare. But the Babylonian Inscriptions refer mainly to the construction of temples, palaces, and other public buildings, and at the same time present especial difficulties in their numerous architectural terms which it is often impossible to translate with any certainty. They are however interesting as records of the piety, and religious feelings of the sovereigns of Babylon, and as affording numerous topographical notices of that famous city; while the boastful language of the Inscription will often remind the reader of Nebuchadnezzar's words in Dan. iv. 30: "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" Compare column vii. line 32.

The reign of Nebuchadnezzar extended from B.C. 604 to 561. In B.C. 598 he laid siege to Jerusalem

(2 Kings xxiv.) and made Jehoiachin prisoner, and in 588 again captured the city, and carried Zedekiah, who had rebelled against him, captive to Babylon (2 Kings xxv.). Josephus gives an account of his expeditions against Tyre and Egypt which are also mentioned with many details in Ezek. xxvii.-xxix.

The name Nebuchadnezzar, or more accurately Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. xxi. 2, 7, etc.) is derived from the Jewish Scriptures. But in the Inscriptions it reads Nebo-kudurri-ussur, *i.e.*, *may Nebo protect the crown*; a name analogous to that of his father Nebo(Nabu)-habal-ussur, (*Nebo protect the son*) and to that of Belshazzar, *i.e.*, *Bel protect the prince*. The phonetic writing of Nebuchadnezzar is *An-pa-sa-du-sis*, each of which syllables has been identified through the syllabaries. The word *kudurri* is probably the כְּתִיר of Esther vi. 8, and the *κιδάρις* of the Greeks. The Inscription of which a translation follows, was found at Babylon by Sir Harford Jones Bridges, and now forms part of the India-House Collection. It is engraved on a short column of black basalt, and is divided into ten columns, containing 619 lines.

It may be worth while to remark that in the name given to the prophet Daniel, Belteshazzar, *i.e.*, *Balat-su-ussur*, *preserve thou his life*, and in Abednego (*servant of Nebo*), we have two of the component parts of the name of Nebuchadnezzar himself.

INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

COLUMN I.

- 1 NEBUCHADNEZZAR
 2 King of Babylon,
 3 glorious Prince,
 4 worshipper of MARDUK,
 5 adorer of the lofty one,
 6 glorifier of NABU,
 7 the exalted, the possessor of intelligence,
 8 who the processions of their divinities
 9 hath increased ;
 10 a worshipper of their Lordships,
 11 firm, not to be destroyed ;
 12 who for the embellishment
 13 of Bit-Saggatu and Bit-Zida¹
 14 appointed days hath set apart, and
 15 the shrines of Babylon
 16 and of Borsippa
 17 hath steadily increased ;
 18 exalted Chief, Lord of peace,
 19 embellisher of Bit-Saggatu and Bit-Zida,
 20 the valiant son
 21 of NABOPOLASSAR
 22 King of Babylon am I.
-
- 23 When he, the Lord god my maker made me,
 24 the god MERODACH, he deposited
 25 my germ in my mother's (womb) :
 26 then being conceived

¹ Two of the principal temples of Babylon. The former occurs below, Col. ii. 40, where it is followed by the epithet, "*Temple of his power.*" Dr. Oppert always renders it "*la Pyramide et la Tour.*"

- 27 I was made.
 28 Under the inspection of ASSUR my judge
 29 the processions of the god I enlarged,
 30 (namely) of MERODACH great Lord, the god my maker.
 31 His skilful works
 32 highly have I glorified ;
 33 and of NEBO his eldest son
 34 exalter of My Royalty
 35 the processions (in honour of)¹ his exalted deity
 36 I firmly established.
 37 With all my heart firmly
 38 (in) worship of their deities I uprose
 39 in reverence for NEBO their Lord.
-
- 40 Whereas MERODACH, great Lord,
 41 the head of My ancient Royalty,
 42 hath empowered me over multitudes of men,
 43 and (whereas) NEBO bestower of thrones in heaven
 and earth,
 44 for the sustentation of men,
 45 a sceptre of righteousness
 46 hath caused my hand to hold ;
 47 now I, that sacred way
 48 for the resting-place of their divinities,
 49 for a memorial of all their names,
 50 as a worshipper of NEBO, YAV and ISTAR,
 51 for MERODACH my Lord I strengthened.
 52 Its threshold I firmly laid, and
 53 my devotion of heart he accepted, and
 54 him did I proclaim
 55 Lord of all beings, and²

¹ Literally, *the goings*. Compare Psalm lxviii. 24. "They have seen thy goings, O God," *i.e.*, processions.

² Of this line Mr. Norris (*Dict.*, p. 166) states "that he cannot suggest any rendering."

56 as Prince of the lofty house, and
57 thou, (O NEBUCHADNEZZAR) hast proclaimed the
name of him
58 who has been beneficent unto thee.
59 His name, (O god,) thou wilt preserve,
60 the path of righteousness thou hast prescribed to him.
61 I, a Prince, and thy worshipper
62 am the work of thy hand ;
63 thou hast created me, and ¹
64 the empire over multitudes of men
65 thou hast assigned me,
66 according to thy favour, O Lord,
67 which thou hast accorded
68 to them all.²
69 May thy lofty Lordship be exalted !
70 in the worship of thy divinity
71 may it subsist ! in my heart
72 may it continue, and my life which to thee is devoted

(Continued on Column II.)

¹ It seems as if the hand were addressed.

² *I.e.*, in making me their ruler.

COLUMN II.

1 mayest thou bless !

2 He, the Chief, the honourable,
3 the Prince of the gods, the great MERODACH,
4 my gracious Lord, heard
5 and received my prayer ;
6 he favoured it, and by his exalted power,
7 reverence for his deity
8 placed he in my heart :
9 to bear his tabernacle
10 he hath made my heart firm,
11 with reverence for thy power,
12 for exalted service,
13 greatly and eternally.

14 The foundation of his temple it was
15 which from the upper waters
16 to the lower waters
17 in a remote way,
18 in a spot exposed to winds,
19 a place whose pavements had been broken,
20 low, dried up,
21 a rugged way,
22 a difficult path,
23 I extended.
24 The disobedient I stirred up,
25 and I collected the poor and
26 gave full directions (for the work) and
27 in numbers I supported them.
28 Wares and ornaments
29 for the women I brought forth,
30 silver, molten gold, precious stones,

- 31 metal, *umritgana* and cedar woods,
 32 (however their names be written)
 33 a splendid abundance,
 34 the produce of mountains,
 35 sea clay,¹
 36 beautiful things in abundance,
 37 riches and sources of joy,
 38 for my city Babylon,
 39 into his presence have I brought
 40 for Bit-Saggatu
 41 the temple of his power,
 42 ornaments for DAKAN ²
-
- 43 Bit-Kua, the shrine
 44 of MERODACH, Lord of the house of the gods,
 45 I have made conspicuous with fine linen³
 46 and its seats
 47 with splendid gold,
 48 as for royalty and deity,
 49 with lapis lazuli and alabaster blocks⁴
 50 I carefully covered them over ;
 51 a gate of passage, the gate Beautiful,⁵
 52 and the gate of Bit-Zida and Bit-Saggatu
 53 I caused to be made brilliant as the sun.
 54 A fulness of the treasures of countries I accumulated ;⁶
 55 around the city it was placed as an ornament,

¹ Mr. Norris conjectures "amber."² Dagon.³ *Sassanis*. The root is probably identical with the Hebrew *shesh* fine linen thus in Ex. xxvi. 1. "Thou shalt make the tabernacle with ten curtains of fine twined linen."⁴ These are found still in the ruins of Babylon.⁵ Compare the Beautiful Gate of the Jewish temple.⁶ Mr. Norris in his *Dictionary* professes his inability to master the first words of this line, p. 580. The same remark applies to line 58. The above rendering is suggested to me by Mr. G. Smith.

- 56 when at the festival of Lilmuku at the beginning of the
year,
57 on the eighth day (and) eleventh day,
58 the divine Prince, Deity of heaven and earth, the Lord
god,
59 they raised within it.
60 (The statue) of the god EL, the beauty of the sphere,
61 reverently they bring ;
62 treasure have they displayed before it,
63 a monument to lasting days,
64 a monument of my life.

65 They also placed within it

(Continued on Column III.)

COLUMN III.

- 1 his altar, an altar of Royalty ;
2 an altar of Lordship,
3 (for) the Chief of the gods, the Prince MERODACH,
4 whose fashion the former Prince
5 had fashioned in silver,
6 with bright gold accurately weighed out
7 I overlaid.
8 Beautiful things for the temple Bit-Saggatu
9 seen at its very summit,
10 the shrine of MERODACH, with statues and marbles
11 I embellished
12 as the stars of heaven.
13 The fanes of Babylon
14 I built, I adorned.
15 Of the house, the foundation of the heaven and earth,
16 I reared the summit
17 with blocks of noble lapis lazuli :
18 to the construction of Bit-Saggatu
19 my heart uplifted me ;
20 in abundance I wrought
21 the best of my pine trees
22 which from Lebanon
23 together with tall *Babil*-wood I brought,
24 for the portico of the temple of MERODACH :
25 the shrine of his Lordship
26 I made good, and interior walls
27 with pine and tall cedar woods :
28 the portico of the temple of MERODACH,
29 with brilliant gold I caused to cover,
30 the lower thresholds, the cedar awnings,

31 with gold and precious stones
 32 I embellished :
 33 in the erection of Bit-Saggatu
 34 I proceeded : I supplicated
 35 the King of gods, the Lord of Lords :
 36 in Borsippa, the city of his loftiness,
 37, 38 I raised Bit-Zida : a durable house
 39 in the midst thereof I caused to be made.
 40 With silver, gold, precious stones,
 41 bronze, *ummakana* and pine woods,
 42 those thresholds I completed :
 43 the pine wood portico
 44 of the shrine of NEBO
 45 with gold I caused to cover,
 46 the pine wood portico of the gate of the temple of

MERODACH

47 I caused to overlay with bright silver.
 48 The bulls and columns of the gate of the shrine
 49 the thresholds, the *sigari* of *ri*-wood, conduits
 50 of *Babnaku* wood and their statues
 51 with cedar wood awnings
 52 of lofty building,
 53 and silver, I adorned.
 54 The avenues of the shrine
 55 and the approach to the house,
 56 of conspicuous brick
 57 sanctuaries in its midst
 58 with perforated silver work,
 59 Bulls, columns, doorways,
 60, 61 in marble beautifully I built ;
 62, 63 I erected a shrine and with rows
 64 of wreathed work I filled it :
 65 the fanes of Borsippa
 66 I made and embellished :

- 67 the temple of the seven spheres
68¹
69 with bricks of noble lapis-lazuli
70 I reared its summit :
71 the tabernacle of NAHR-KANUL
72 the chariot of his greatness

(Continued on Column IV.)

¹ Lacuna.

COLUMN IV.

1 the tabernacle, the shrine Lilmuku,
 2 the festival of Babylon,
 3, 4 his pageant of dignity
 5 within it, I caused to decorate
 6 with beryls and stones.

7 A temple for sacrifices, the lofty citadel
 8 of BEL and MERODACH, god of gods,
 9 a threshold of joy and supremacy
 10 among angels and spirits,
 11 with the stores of Babylon,
 12 with cement and brick,
 13 like a mountain I erected.

14 A great temple of NINHARISSI ¹
 15 in the centre of Babylon
 16 to the great goddess the mother who created me,
 17 in Babylon I made.
 18 To NEBO of lofty intelligence
 19 who hath bestowed (on me) the sceptre of justice,
 20 to preside over all peoples,
 21 a temple of rule over men, and a site for this his temple
 22, 23 in Babylon, of cement and brick
 24 the fashion I fashioned.

25, 26 To the Moon-god, the strengthener of my hands
 27 a large house of alabaster as his temple
 28 in Babylon I made.

29 To the sun, the judge supreme
 30 who perfects good in my body,
 31 a house for that guide of men, even his house,

¹ Wife of the sun.

32, 33 in Babylon, of cement and brick,
 34 skilfully did I make.

35 To the god YAV, establisher of fertility
 36 in my land, Bit-Numkan as his temple
 37 in Babylon I built.

38 To the goddess GULA, the regulator
 39 and benefactress of my life,
 40 Bit-Samit, and Bit-haris the lofty,
 41, 42 as fanes in Babylon, in cement and brick
 43 strongly did I build.

44 To the divine Lady of Bit Anna,
 45 my gracious mistress,
 46 Bit-Kiku in front of her house
 47 so as to strengthen the wall of Babylon
 48 I skilfully constructed.

49, 50 To NINIP the breaker of the sword of my foes
 51 a temple in Borsippa I made ;
 52 and to the Lady GULA¹
 53 the beautifier of my person²
 54 Bit-Gula, Bit-Tila, Bit-Ziba-Tila,
 55 her three temples
 56 in Borsippa I erected :
 57 to the god YAV who confers
 58 the fertilizing rain upon my land,
 59, 60 his house (also) in Borsippa I strongly built :
 61 to the Moon-god who upholds
 62 the fulness of my prosperity
 63 Bit-ti-Anna³ as his temple,

¹ In 1 Mich. iv. 5. Gula is said to be the wife of the southern sun.

² Or, The favourer of my praises.

³ The goddess Anna is identical with the Nana whose image was by her own command restored by Assurbanipal to the temple of Bit-Anna after an absence in Elam of 1635 years. See Smith's *Assurb.* pp. 234-5.

- 64 on the mound near Bit-Ziba
65 I beautifully constructed :
66, 67 Imgur-Bel and Nimetti-Belkit
68 the great walls of Babylon,
69¹ I built,
70 which NABOPOLASSAR
71 King, King of Babylon, the father who begat me,
72 had commenced but not completed their beauty.

(Continued on Column V.)

¹ Lacuna.

COLUMN V.

- 1 Its fosse he dug
 2 and of two high embankments
 3 in cement and brick
 4 he finished the mass :
 5, 6 an embankment for pathways he made,
 7, 8 Buttresses of brick beyond the Euphrates
 9, 10 he constructed, but did not complete :
 11, 12 the rest from¹
 13 the best of their lands I accumulated :
 14 a place for sacrifice, as ornament,
 15, 16 as far as Aibur-sabu² near Babylon
 17 opposite the principal gate
 18 with brick and *durmina-turda* stone
 19 as a shrine of the great Lord, the god MERODACH
 20 I built as a house for processions.
 21, 22 I his eldest son, the chosen of his heart,
 23, 24 Imgur-Bel and Nimetti-Bel
 25, 26 the great walls of Babylon, completed :
 27 buttresses for the embankment of its fosse,
 28 and two long embankments
 29 with cement and brick I built, and
 30 with the embankment my father had made
 31, 32 I joined them ; and to the city for protection
 33, 34 I brought near an embankment of enclosure
 35 beyond the river, westward.
 36 The wall of Babylon
 37, 38 I carried round Aibur-sabu
 39 in the vicinity of Babylon :
 40 for a shrine of the great Lord MERODACH

¹ Lacuna.² An ornamental piece of water near Babylon.

41, 42 the whole enclosure I filled (with buildings)
43 with brick made of *kamina-turda* stone
44 and brick of stone cut out of mountains.
45, 46 Aibur-sabu from the High gate,
47, 48 as far as Istar-Sakipat I made,
49, 50 for a shrine for his divinity I made good,
51 and with what my father had made
52, 53 I joined, and built it ;
54, 55, 56 and the access to Istar-Sakipat I made,
57, 58 which is Imgur-Bel and Nimetti-Bel,
59 the great gates, the whole temple of the gods,
60, 61 in completeness near to Babylon
62 I brought down ;
63, 64 the materials of those great gates
65 I put together and

(Continued on Column VI.)

COLUMN VI.

- 1 their foundations opposite to the waters
2, 3 in cement and brick I founded,
4 and of strong stones of *zamat-hati*,
5 bulls and images,
6 the building of its interior
7 skilfully I constructed :
8, 9, 10 tall cedars for their porticoes I arranged,
11 *ikki* wood, cedar wood,
12 with coverings of copper,
13 on domes and arches :
14, 15 work in bronze I overlaid substantially on its gates,
16, 17 bulls of strong bronze and molten images
18 for their thresholds, strongly.
19 Those large gates
20 for the admiration of multitudes of men
21 with wreathed work I filled :
22 the abode of IMZU-BEL
23 the invincible castle of Babylon,
24 which no previous King had effected,
25 4000 cubits complete,
26 the walls of Babylon
27 whose banner is invincible,
28 as a high fortress by the ford of the rising sun,
29 I carried round Babylon.
30 Its fosse I dug and its mass
31 with cement and brick
32, 33 I reared up and a tall tower at its side
34 like a mountain I built.
35, 36 The great gates whose walls I constructed
37 with *ikki* and pine woods and coverings of copper
38 I overlaid them,

39 to keep off enemies from the front
40 of the wall of unconquered Babylon.
41, 42 Great waters like the might of the sea
43 I brought near in abundance
44 and their passing by
45 was like the passing by of the great billows
46 of the Western ocean :
47, 48 passages through them were none,
49, 50 but heaps of earth I heaped up,
51 and embankments of brickwork
52 I caused to be constructed.
53, 54 The fortresses I skilfully strengthened
55 and the city of Babylon
56 I fitted to be a treasure-city.
57 The handsome pile
58, 59 the fort of Borsippa I made anew :
60, 61 its fosse I dug out and in cement and brick
62 I reared up its mass.
63 NEBUCHADNEZZAR

(Continued on Column VII.)

COLUMN VII.

- 1 King of Babylon
 2 whom MERODACH, the Sun, the great Lord,
 3 for the holy places of his city
 4 Babylon hath called, am I :
 5 and Bit-Saggatu and Bit-Zida
 6 like the radiance of the Sun I restored :
 7 the fanes of the great gods
 8 I completely brightened.
 9 At former dates from the days of old
 10 to the days¹
 11 of NABOPOLASSAR King of Babylon
 12 the exalted father who begat me,
 13 many a Prince who preceded me
 14, 15 whose names EL had proclaimed for royalty
 16 for the city, my city, the festivals of these gods
 17 in the perfected places
 18 a princely temple, a large temple did they make
 19 and erected it as their dwelling places.
 20, 21 Their spoils in the midst they accumulated,
 22 they heaped up, and their treasures
 23 for the festival Lilmuku
 24 of the good Lord, MERODACH god of gods
 25 they transferred into the midst of Babylon ;
 26, 27 when at length MERODACH who made me for royalty
 28 and the god NEBO his mighty son,
 29 committed his people to me
 30 as precious lives.
 31 Highly have I exalted their cities ;
 32 (but) above Babylon and Borsippa
 33 I have not added a city

¹ Lacuna.

- 34 in the realm of Babylonia
35 as a city of my lofty foundation.
-
- 36 A great temple, a house of admiration for men,
37, 38 a vast construction, a lofty pile,
39, 40 a palace of My Royalty for the land of Babylon,
41 in the midst of the city of Babylon
42, 43 from Imgur Bel to Libit-higal
44 the ford of the Sun-rise,
45 from the bank of the Euphrates
46 as far as Aibur-sabu
47 which NABOPOLASSAR
48 King of Babylon the father who begat me
49, 50 made in brick and raised up in its midst,
51 but whose foundation was damaged
52 by waters and floods
53, 54 at Bit-Imli near Babylon,
55, 56 and the gates of that palace were thrown down,
57, 58 of this the structure with brickwork I repaired
59 with its foundation and boundary wall,
60 and a depth of waters I collected :
61, 62 then opposite the waters I laid its foundation
63 and with cement and brick

(Continued on Column VIII.)

COLUMN VIII.

1, 2 I skilfully surrounded it ;
3, 4 tall cedars for its porticoes I fitted ;
5, 6 *ikki* and cedar woods with layers of copper,
7 on domes and arches
8, 9 and with bronze work, I strongly overlaid its gates
10 with silver, gold, precious stones,
11, 12 whatsoever they call them, in heaps ;
13 I valiantly collected spoils ;
14 as an adornment of the house were they arranged,
15 and were collected within it ;
16, 17 trophies, abundance, royal treasures,
18 I accumulated and gathered together.
19 As to the moving of My Royalty
20 to any other city,
21 there has not arisen a desire :
22 among any other people
23 no royal palace have I built :
24 the merchandize and treasures of my kingdom
25, 26, 27 I did not deposit within the provinces of Babylon :
28 a pile for my residence
29, 30 to grace My Royalty was not found :
31 Therefore with reverence for MERODACH my Lord,
32, 33 the exterior and interior in Babylon
34 as his treasure city
35, 36 and for the elevation of the abode of My Royalty
37 his shrine I neglected not :
38 its weak parts which were not completed,
39 its compartments that were not remembered,
40 as a securely compacted edifice
41, 42 I dedicated and set up as a preparation for war
43, 44 by Imgur Bel, the fortress of invincible Babylon,

- 45 400 cubits in its completeness,
46 a wall of Nimitti-Bel
47 an outwork of Babylon
48, 49 for defence. Two lofty embankments,
50 in cement and brick,
51 a fortress like a mountain I made,
52 and in their sub-structure
53 I built a brickwork ;
54 then on its summit a large edifice
55 for the residence of My Royalty
56, 57 with cement and brick I skilfully built
58 and brought it down by the side of the temple :
59 and in the exact middle, on the second day
60 its foundation in a solid depth
61, 62 I made good and its summit I carried round ;
63 and on the 15th day its beauty

(Continued on Column IX.)

COLUMN IX.

- 1 I skilfully completed
 2 and exalted as an abode of Royalty.
 3, 4 Tall pines, the produce of lofty mountains,
 5 thick *asuhu* wood
 6, 7 and *surman* wood in choice pillars
 8 for its covered porticoes I arranged.
 9 *ikki* and *musritkanna* woods
 10 cedar and *surman* woods
 11 I brought forth, and in heaps,
 12 with a surface of silver and gold
 13 and with coverings of copper,
 14, 15 on domes and arches, and with works of metal
 16 its gates I strongly overlaid
 17 and completely with *zamat*-stone
 18 I finished off its top.
 19, 20 A strong wall in cement and brick
 21 like a mountain I carried round
 22, 23 a wall, a brick fortress, a great fortress
 24 with long blocks of stone
 25, 26 gatherings from great lands I made
 27, 28 and like hills I upraised its head.
 29, 30 That house for admiration I caused to build
 31 and for a banner to hosts of men :
 32 with carved work I fitted it ;
 33 the strong power of reverence for
 34 the presence of Royalty
 35 environs its walls ;
 36, 37 the least thing not upright enters it not,
 38 that evil may not make head.
 39 The walls of the fortress of Babylon
 40, 41 its defence in war I raised

42 and the circuit of the city of Babylon.
43, 44 I have strengthened skilfully.
45 To MERODACH my Lord
46 my hand I lifted :
47 O MERODACH the Lord, Chief of the gods,
48, 49 a surpassing Prince thou hast made me,
50 and empire over multitudes of men,
51, 52 hast entrusted to me as precious lives ;
53 thy power have I extended on high,
54, 55 over Babylon thy city, before all mankind.
56 No city of the land have I exalted
57, 58 as was exalted the reverence of thy deity :
59 I caused it to rest : and may thy power
60, 61 bring its treasures abundantly to my land.
62 I, whether as King and embellisher,
63 am the rejoicer of thy heart
64 or whether as High Priest appointed,
65 embellishing all thy fortresses,

(Continued on Column X.)

COLUMN X.

- 1, 2 For thy glory, O exalted MERODACH
3 a house have I made.
4 May its greatness advance !
5 May its fulness increase !
6, 7 in its midst abundance may it acquire !
8 May its memorials be augmented !
9 May it receive within itself
10 the abundant tribute
11, 12 of the Kings of nations and of all peoples !¹
13, 14 From the West to the East by the rising sun
15 may I have no foemen !
16 May they not be multiplied
17, 18 within, in the midst thereof, for ever,
19 Over the dark races may he rule !

¹ Comp. Dan. i. 2, "He brought the vessels into the treasure house of his god."



INSCRIPTION OF NERIGLISSAR.

 BY THE

REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.

RECTOR OF ST. ETHELBURGA, BISHOPSGATE.

NERIGLISSAR, or Nergal-sar-uzur (*i.e.*, "Nergal protects the King") was the son of Bel-sum-iskun and succeeded Evil-Merodach on the throne of Babylon, where he reigned from B.C. 559 to B.C. 550. In the Canon of Ptolemy the name occurs as Nerigasolasaros, and it is also found in the prophet Jeremiah¹ among the names of other Babylonian officers of high rank.

Nergal, according to Dr. Oppert, *Exp. Mes.* ii., 324, is the planet Mars, called Nergil by the Sabæans. In 2 Kings xvii. 30 we read that the Cuthæans worshipped this Nergal. Now as the Cuneiform inscrip-

¹ Jer. xxxix. 3, 13.

tions show that the Lion god, under the name of Nergal, was worshipped at Tiggabba, a name which interchanges with Kuti, = Cutha, we have before us, in this fact, a remarkable confirmation of the accuracy of the writer of the Book of Kings. The passages are quoted by Mr. Norris, *Assyr. Dict.* Vol. I., p. 46.

The terra cotta Cylinder of which a translation is here given is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was brought from the Ruins of Babylon by Mr. Layard. The Cuneiform text is printed in Vol. I., p. 67 of the British Museum Series of *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*.



INSCRIPTION OF NERIGLISSAR.

COLUMN I.

- 1 NERIGLISSAR King of Babylon,
 2 restorer of Bit-Saggatu and Bit Zida,¹
 3 builder of holy places,
 4 whom, in order to make his kingdom durable
 5 the great gods have stablished in power :
 6 MERODACH, powerful among the gods, determiner of
 destinies,
 7 for supremacy over many lands hath created him,
 8 (and) hath determined his destiny
 9 for help (and) progress in abundance hath he made
 him :
 10 NEBO, mighty son, a sceptre of righteousness²
 11 hath caused his hand to hold
 12 for the regulation of men, the benefit of lands :
 13 The god ABN-RA, mighty among the gods³ hath fur-
 nished him his shield⁴
 14 son of BEL-SUM-ISKUN, King of Babylon am I :
 15 while MERODACH, great Lord, my ancient ruler,
 16 land and people to a master hath given :
 17 I, to MERODACH my Lord, stedfast, unfailing,
 18 the temple of Bit-Saggatu and Bit-Zida to restore

¹ The kings of Babylon constantly style themselves, defenders or restorers of these two temples, which probably were used as observatories as well as places of worship. Dr. Hincks (*Polyphony* p. 21) gives reason for supposing that the Babylonian kings meant to imply by these titles that they were defenders of the civil and military "institutions of the country."

² Compare Psalm xlv. 7.

³ Compare the expression "*el gibbor*" in Isaiah ix. 6.

⁴ Compare Psalm xxxv. 1, 2

- 19 directed my course,
 20 a principal Governor for secure repose ;
 21 an image of bronze in the niches of the gates of
 Bit-Saggatu
 22 (and) ornaments in silver as pediments were firmly
 raised,
 23 for the gate of the Sun-rise, the gate of the mighty god
 of the West, the water gate and the King's gate,
 24 which no previous King had strengthened,
 25 now (as) a place for sacrifice, for the worship of the
 gods, skilfully
 26 I fashioned, and eight images of strong bronze
 27 which on wicked men and foes rain down the fear of
 death,
 28 with rows of pure silver I caused to overlay ; and
 29 for the gate of the Sunrise, the gate of the mighty god
 of the West, the water gate and King's gate
 30 in the niches of those gates as of yore,
 31 silver ornaments as pediments
 32 as its chief embellishment I erected on its foundation
 33 ornaments of the interior of Bit-Zida
 34 in a circle on that summit
 35 ground, I placed the great temple of MERO-
 DACH, god of gods :
 36 in its midst I
 37 and solid, of its gates with
 38 in a circle over against it
 39 its doors

[Lines 40—42 are entirely obliterated.]

COLUMN II.

- 1 in the days of the former king. An abode for my
 Royalty
 2 I reared of *Sauiri* wood all around.
 3 As for me, I restored its ancient site and
 4 the course of its waters as of old
 5 to the wall of Bit-Saggatu I directed,
 6 at the side of the Sun-rise, which the former king had
 planned, but
 7 had not built : its arcades
 8 close by I planned, and with cement and brick
 9 its arcades I built.
 10 Waters of fertility not intermitting,
 11 I secured for the land.
 12 To Bit-Saggatu and Bit-Zida I am unfailing to raise a
 place
 13 an entire strong-hold of the gods for embellishment
 14 (and) for a steadfast resting place.
 15 When as the palace the abode of my Royalty
 16 in the land of Babylon in the midst of Babylon,
 17 from Aibur-sabu near Babylon
 18 as far as the neighbourhood of the Euphrates,
 19 whose foundation a former king had made and
 arranged
 20 in the interior for the protection of the temple
 21 above the bank of the river Euphrates,
 22 was damaged, and its mass was loosened,—
 23 its prostrated fragments I put together and
 24 a depth of water I secured :
 25 opposite those waters with cement and brick
 26 its foundation I laid down, and
 27 I made, I completed (it) and
 28 reared aloft its summit :

- 29 tall cedars ¹ for its roof,
30 wood for its galleries and awnings I arranged.
31 O god MERODACH, Great Lord, Lord of the house of
the gods is his name,
32 light of the gods, father, even
33 for thy high honour which changeth not
34 a house have I built.² May its fulness increase !
35 may it acquire treasures in its midst !
36 may its tributes augment
37 from West to East by the rising sun
38 from the Kings of the nations of all men !
39 their many tributes
40 may it receive within (its walls) !
41 may they come within it for ever !
42 may their approach copiously prevail !

¹ Compare the material furnished for the erection of Solomon's temple.

² Compare 1 Chron. vi. 33.



INSCRIPTION OF NABONIDUS, KING OF BABYLON.

TRANSLATED BY

H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S.

FROM the terra cotta cylinders, four in number, found at the corners of the temple of the Moon at Mugheir,¹ and now in the British Museum. Published in *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. I., plate 68.

This translation was first published in 1861, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIX., p. 195.

Several writers have maintained that the Prince Bel-sar-ussur, who is named in this inscription as being the eldest son of Nabonidus, is identical with the Biblical Belshazzar. As I am however of a very different opinion I will state some of my reasons for doubting it. I willingly admit that Belshazzar is the same name as Bel-sar-ussur; but this proves nothing, because Bel-sar-ussur, meaning, *Bel protect the King*, is not an unfrequent name in the Cuneiform inscriptions. Nergal-sar-ussur, usually shortened into Neriglissar, is another name of the same kind, and probably there were many other names, borne by different individuals, in which the principal gods of Babylonia were invoked "to protect the King." Nothing therefore can be inferred from the mere name of Bel-sar-ussur.

Again, the book of Daniel presents to us Belshazzar as a reigning king, and gives not the least hint of his having a father still alive and on the throne. Yet this is maintained by some writers who say that Bel-sar-ussur was co-regent with Nabonidus his father.²

¹ The Ur of the Chaldees.

² "Admitted by his father to a share in the government." Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. "Joint king with his father." *Ibid*.

But of this there is not the slightest evidence in the inscription or elsewhere. He may have been a mere child when it was written. His father merely asks the gods to bless him.

Again, Belshazzar was the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and not the son of Nabonidus. Dan. v. 2.

This has been explained away by saying that "father" in Hebrew may mean "grandfather," or even a more remote ancestor. But consider the words employed in this passage, which seem expressly designed to avoid all ambiguity: chap. v. 11: "There is a man in thy kingdom, *viz., Daniel*, in whom is the spirit of the holy gods whom *the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father, the king, I say, thy father*, made master of the magicians, astrologers, Chaldeans, and soothsayers." And, chap. v. 13: "Then was Daniel brought in before the king. And the king said: Art thou that Daniel, whom *the king my father* brought out of Jewry?"

Daniel in reply said to the king, chap. v. 18: "The most high God gave *Nebuchadnezzar thy father* a kingdom, and majesty, and glory, and honour But when his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride, he was deposed from his kingly throne, and they took his glory from him. . . . And *thou his son*, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this."

Now, how do these passages suit the person of Bel-sar-ussur the son of Nabonidus, who was merely a Babylonian nobleman, and not in any way related, as far as we know, to the family of Nebuchadnezzar? There are so many great and undoubted coincidences between the cuneiform inscriptions and the Scriptures, that it was not worth while to bring forward so unsubstantial a conjecture as the one which I have been here examining.

THE INSCRIPTION OF NABONIDUS.

COLUMN I.

- 1 NABO-IMDUK¹ King of Babylon
 2 restorer of Bit-Saggathu
 3 and Bit-Zida,²
 4 worshipper of the great gods, I am he.
 5 The building of King RAM-SIDI
 6 called the Tower of the temple of "the great tree"
 7 which is in the city of Ur,
 8 which URUKH, a King who lived long ago,
 9 had begun, but had not completed,
 10 but ILGI his son
 11 had completed the superstructure :
 12 in the inscriptions of URUKH
 13 and ILGI his son I read
 14 that this tower
 15 URUKH had begun to build
 16 but had not completed it
 17 and ILGI its superstructure
 18 completed.
 19 In my days that tower
 20 had disappeared entirely.
 21 Upon the old *timin*³
 22 which URUKH and ILGI

¹ The king has two names in this inscription. His subjects who spoke the Accadian language called him Nabo-imduk, which probably meant "Nabo the glorious."

² Two magnificent temples very frequently mentioned in the inscriptions.

³ Or platform.

- 23 his son had made,
24 of that tower
25 like unto the ancient one
26 in bitumen and brick
27 a restoration I made.
28 Unto the MOON, Chief of the gods of heaven and
earth
29 King of the stars upon stars¹
30 which dwell in heaven great, Lord of that temple of
"the great tree"
31 in the city of UR, my Lord,

(Continued on Column II.)

¹ "Stars:" in the original "gods:" but the stars were in those ancient times accounted divinities and the same symbol (a six-rayed star) denoted "a star" and "a god."

COLUMN II.

1 From its foundation
2 I raised it anew.
3 O MOON ! Chief of the gods
4 King of the gods of heaven and earth,
5 and of the stars upon stars
6 which dwell in heaven great :
7 into this temple
8 when joyfully thou dost enter ¹
9 the holy buildings of Bit-Saggathu
10 and Bit-Zida, and the temple of "the great tree"
11 which are the dwellings of thy great divinity,
12 may thy lips proclaim their stability !
13 The fear of thy great divinity
14 in the hearts of their inhabitants
15 fix thou firmly ! that they may not transgress
16 against thy great divinity !
17 Like heaven may their foundations
18 stand fast !
19 Myself NABO-NID King of Babylon
20 in the fear of thy great divinity
21 preserve me !
22 My life unto distant days
23 abundantly prolong !
24 and of BEL-SAR-USSUR
25 my eldest son
26 the offspring of my body,

¹ When the image of a god was brought into his newly built temple great rejoicings always took place.

- 27 the awe of thy great divinity
28 fix thou firmly in his heart
29 that he may never fall
30 into sin
31 and that his glory may endure !



THE INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS,
AT NAKSHI RUSTAM.

TRANSLATED BY
H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S.

THIS important inscription was published by Westergaard in the *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, Copenhagen 1844, where it is given in Plate xviii.

Since that time a more perfect copy has been obtained by Tasker, and from these materials Sir H. Rawlinson many years ago gave a restoration of a great part of the inscription, accompanied by a

Latin version. I have carefully revised my former translation of 1862 in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and I hope the remaining errors are but few.



THE INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS.

-
- 1 Chief of the gods, is OROMASDES, who created heaven
and earth,
2 and created mankind : who gave to men their various
fortunes :
3 who created DARIUS, the King of many Kings.
4 I am DARIUS the great King, the King of Kings, the
King of the nations
5 of every different tongue : the King of the vast and
wide world :
6 son of HYSTASPES the Achæmenian : a Persian, son of
a Persian.
7 DARIUS the King says : Under the protection
8 of OROMASDES, these are the countries which I hold
9 besides Persia : and whatever tribute I have com-
manded them to bring,
10 that they brought : and whatever things I commanded
them to do,
11 that they did ; and they fulfilled my laws.
12 Media : Susiana : Parthia : Aria : Bactria : Sogdiana :
Chorasmia :¹
13 Zarangia : Arachotia : Sattagydia : Gandaria :²
14 India :³ those Cimmerians who are called the Humurga :
those other Cimmerians

¹ Chorasmia, now Khiva.² Gandaria, now Candahar.³ Probably only the Punjab, or perhaps the districts near the river Indus.

- 15 who wear gloves on their hands :¹ Babylonia : Assyria :
Arabia :
- 16 Egypt : Armenia : Cappadocia : Sparta : Ionia :
- 17 those Cimmerians who dwell beyond the sea,² in the
land of *Scythia* :
- 18 those Ionians who wear helmets on their heads : the
Budians :
- 19 the *Cossæans* : the *Masians* : and the land of *Cartha*.
DARIUS the King says :
- 20 When OROMASDES saw that these countries were at war
21 with each other continually, after he had given me to
them
- 22 and had appointed me to be King over them, then I
the King under the protection
- 23 of OROMASDES kept them all quiet in their right places.
- 24 Whatever I said, that they did, and they wished the
thing that I wished.
- 25 And if thou³ should'st say thus : " Surely these nations
will quarrel and split asunder
- 26 who now obey DARIUS the King," look well at those
statues which support my throne,⁴
- 27 and if thou dost recognise them,⁵ then it will be known
to thee
- 28 that the spear of the Persian reaches far !
- 29 Then it will be known to thee, that the men of Persia
far beyond their own country

¹ "Gloves:" in the original *karbul*. This word occurs in the Old Testament (Daniel, and 1 Chronicles) in the sense of a covering for some part of the body. Gloves were almost unknown to the southern nations though very suitable to the climate of the Cimmerians or Scythians.

² Beyond the Euxine, Darius afterwards waged in person a very disastrous war against these Scythians.

³ Thou : that is, thou, whoever thou art, who shall read these lines.

⁴ Namely, in the original sculpture at Nakshi Rustam.

⁵ That is, the nations meant to be represented.

- 30 wars are wont to wage. DARIUS the King says : All
this that I have done, under the protection of
31 OROMASDES I have done it. OROMASDES gave me
the strength
32 to do these things. May OROMASDES protect me
33 from everything that is evil, both my family and my
country
34 this I pray OROMASDES : may OROMASDES grant it !
35 O man ! whatever OROMASDES commands, do not thou
rebel against it !





ACCADIAN HYMN TO ISTAR.

 TRANSLATED BY

 REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

THE following is one of the many early Chaldean hymns that were incorporated into a collection which M. Lenormant has aptly compared with the Rig-Veda of India. The concluding lines show that it originally belonged to the city of Erech (now *Warka*). The date of its composition must be exceedingly remote, and this increases the interest of the astronomical allusions contained in it. The original Accadian text is given, with an interlinear Assyrian translation, as is usually the case with

hymns of this kind. The terra cotta tablet on which it is found is numbered S 954, being one of those that have been recently brought back from Assyria by Mr. George Smith, who has translated the Reverse in his *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 392, 393. I owe a copy of the text to the kindness of Mr. Boscawen. It is of considerable importance for the study of Assyrian grammar.



ACCADIAN HYMN TO ISTAR.

OBVERSE.

- 1 Light of heaven, who like the fire dawnest on the world, (art) thou.
- 2 Goddess in the earth, in thy fixed abode,
- 3 who dawnest¹ like the earth, (art) thou.
- 4 (As for) thee, prosperity approaches thee.
- 5 To the house of men in thy descending (thou goest).
- 6 A hyæna, which as they go in warlike strength are made to march, (art) thou.
- 7 A lion, which into the midst is wont to march, (art) thou.
- 8 Day (is thy) servant, heaven (thy) canopy.
- 9 The servant of ISTAR;² heaven (is thy) canopy.
- 10 Princess of the four cities, head of the sea,³ heaven (is thy) canopy.
- 11 The exalted of the Sun-god, heaven (is thy) canopy.
- 12 For the revolver of the seasons sanctuaries I build, a temple I build.
- 13 For my father the Moon-god, the revolver of the seasons, sanctuaries I build, a temple I build.
- 14 For my brother the Sun-god, the revolver of the seasons, sanctuaries I build, a temple I build.
- 15 (As for) me, for Nannaru⁴ I built the precinct, for the revolver of seasons sanctuaries I build, a temple I build.

¹ The Assyrian rendering has: "art caused to journey."

² The Assyrian mis-translates: "A servant (is) Istar."

³ The translation given in the text is extremely doubtful.

⁴ Literally, "the brilliant one" a title of the Moon-god, which gave rise to the classical legend of Nannarus.

- 16 In heaven *he laid the hand*; for the revolver of seasons sanctuaries I build, a temple I build.
- 17 In the beginning (thou art) my begetter; in the beginning (thou art) my begetter.
- 18 In the beginning the goddess *spoke thus to men*:
- 19 The Lady of heaven,¹ the divinity of the zenith, (am) I.
- 20 The Lady of heaven, the divinity of the dawn, (am) I.
- 21 The Queen of heaven, the opener of the locks of the high heaven, my begetter.
- 22 Heaven she benefits, earth she enlightens;² my begetter.
- 23 The benefitter of heaven, the enlightener³ of earth; my begetter.

REVERSE.

- 1 Thou who on the axis of heaven dawnest, in the dwellings of the earth her name revolves; my begetter.
- 2 (As) Queen of heaven above and below may she be invoked; my begetter.
- 3 The mountains fiercely she hurls-into-the-deep;⁴ my begetter.
- 4 As to the mountains, their goodly stronghold (art) thou, their mighty lock (art) thou;⁵ my begetter.

- 5 May thy heart rest; may thy liver be magnified.
- 6 O Lord ANU, the mighty, may thy heart rest.

¹ The Assyrian renders this by "Istar."

² Or perhaps "smites."

³ Or perhaps "smiter."

⁴ The Assyrian mistranslates: "I hurl into the deep."

⁵ The Assyrian mistranslates: "I" for "thou."

- 7 O Lord, the mighty Prince¹ BEL, may thy liver be magnified.
 8 O ISTAR, the Lady of heaven, may thy heart rest.
 9 O Lady, Queen of heaven, may thy liver (be magnified).
 10 O Lady, Queen of the House of heaven, may thy heart (rest).
 11 O Lady, Queen of the land of Erech, may thy liver (be magnified).
 12 O Lady, Queen of the land of the four rivers of Erech,² may thy heart (rest).
 13 O Lady, Queen of the Mountain of the World,³ may thy liver (be magnified).
 14 O Lady, Queen of the Temple of the Resting-place of the world, may thy heart (rest).
 15 O Lady, Queen of Babylon, may thy liver (be magnified).
 16 O Lady, Queen of the Memorial of NAN'A, may thy heart (rest).
 17 O Queen of the Temple, Queen of the gods, may thy liver (be magnified).

18 Prayer of the heart to ISTAR.

- 19 Like its original⁴ written and translated.
 20 Palace of ASSUR-BANI-PAL, King of Assyria ;

¹ *Sadi* in Assyrian, literally "mountain" or "rock" and apparently connected with the Hebrew *Shaddai* as in the phrase *El Shaddai*, "God Almighty."

² Possibly the four rivers of Paradise.

³ Also called the "Mountain of the East," Mount Elwand on which the ark rested.

⁴ That is the text from which the Assyrian copy was made for the library of Assurbanipal.

- 21 Son of ESAR-HADDON, King of multitudes, King of
Assyria, High-Priest of Babylon,
22 King of Sumer and Accad, King of the Kings of Cush
and Egypt,
23 King of the four zones ; Son of SENNACHERIB,
24 King of multitudes, King of Assyria ;
25 who to ASSUR and BELTIS, NEBO and TASMIT trusts.
26 Thy kingdom, O light of the gods.



THE WAR
OF THE
SEVEN EVIL SPIRITS AGAINST HEAVEN.

TRANSLATED BY
H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S.

THIS curious narrative is found in plate 5 of the fourth Volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, published by the British Museum. As a composition it appears to me decidedly inferior to the "Deluge Tablets" and the "Descent of Ishtar."

The scribe repeats the same ideas too often: he might have introduced more variety, and if he had given us a succession of events instead of a scene of mere turmoil and confusion, his poem would have had more interest for us. Allowance must however be made for the fractured condition of the tablet,

great part of which is lost, and this part may have contained the finest portions of the narrative. This ancient story appears to have suggested to the Greeks the fable of the Giants warring against heaven: the Giganto-machia.

My translation differs in some respects from that given by Mr. Smith in his *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 398.



WAR OF THE SEVEN EVIL SPIRITS.

COLUMN I.

- 1 Days of storms, Powers of Evil.
- 2 Rebellious spirits, who were born in the lower part of
heaven,
- 3 They were workers of calamity,
- 4 [After this, the ends of many lines are broken off, and the
names or descriptions of the spirits are in consequence lost].
- 5 The first of the seven was
- 6 The second was
- 7 The third was *like a leopard*
- 8 The fourth was *like a snake*
- 9 The fifth was *like a dog*
- 10 The sixth was an enemy to heaven and its King.
- 11 The seventh was a destructive tempest.
- 12 These seven are the messengers of ANU¹ their King.
- 13 From place to place by turns they pass.
- 14 They are the dark storms in heaven, which into fire
unite themselves.
- 15 They are the destructive tempests, which on a fine day
sudden darkness cause.
- 16 With storms and meteors they rush.
- 17 Their rage ignites the thunderbolts of IM.²
- 18 From the right hand of the Thunderer they dart forth.

¹ Anu was the ruler of the highest heaven. Meteors and lightnings are similarly considered in Hebrew poetry as the messengers of the Almighty. Psalm civ. 4, "Who maketh his ministers a *flaming fire*," quoted in Heb. i. 7.

² Im, the god of the sky, sometimes called Rimmon (the thunderer). He answers to the Jupiter Tonans of the Latins.

- 19 On the horizon of heaven like lightning they
20
21 Against high heaven the dwelling place of ANU the King, they plotted evil and had none to withstand them.
22 When BEL heard this news, he communed secretly with his own heart.
23 Then he took counsel with HEA the great Inventor (or Sage) of the gods.
24 And they stationed the Moon, the Sun, and ISHTAR to keep guard over the approach to heaven.
25 Unto ANU, ruler of heaven, they told it.
26 And those three gods, his children,
27 to watch night and day unceasingly he commanded them.
28 When those seven evil spirits rushed upon the base of Heaven,
29 and close in front of the Moon with fiery weapons advanced,
30 Then the noble Sun and IM the warrior side by side stood firm.
31 But ISHTAR¹ with ANU the King entered the exalted dwelling, and hid themselves in the summit of heaven.

¹ The Babylonian Venus.

COLUMN II.

[All the commencement of the second Column is broken off, and I think there is no connected sense till we get to line 25 of the lithographed Plate, which I will here call line 1.]

- 1 Those evil spirits, the messengers of ANU their King
- 2
- 3 They have plotted evil
- 4 From mid heaven like meteors they have rushed upon
the earth.
- 5 BEL who the noble Moon in eclipse
- 6 saw from heaven,
- 7 called aloud to PAKU his messenger.
- 8 O my messenger PAKU, carry my words to the Deep¹
- 9 Tell my Son that the Moon in heaven is terribly
eclipsed !
- 10 To HEA in the Deep repeat this !
- 11 PAKU understood the words of his Lord.
- 12 Unto HEA in the Deep swiftly he went.
- 13 To the Lord, the great Inventor, the god NUKIMMUT²
- 14 PAKU repeated the words of his Lord.
- 15 When HEA in the Deep heard these words.
- 16 He bit his lips,³ and tears bedewed his face.
- 17 Then he sent for his son MARDUK to help him.
- 18 Go to my son MARDUK,
- 19 Tell my son that the Moon in heaven is terribly
eclipsed !
- 20 That eclipse has been seen in heaven !

¹ The Abyss or Ocean where the god Hea dwelt.

² Nukimmut, a name of Hea which occurs frequently.

³ A sign of great vexation. Compare the legend of Ishtar, Col. ii. line 21, "the goddess of Hades smote her bosom and *bit her fingers*" (in vexation at what she had heard).

- 21 They are seven, those evil spirits and death they fear
not !
- 22 They are seven, those evil spirits, who rush like a
hurricane,
- 23 and fall like firebrands on the earth !
- 24 In front of the bright Moon with fiery weapons (*they
draw nigh*)
- 25 But the noble Sun and IM the warrior (*are withstanding
them*)

[The rest of the legend is lost.]



TABLES OF OMENS
FURNISHED BY DOGS AND BIRTHS.

TRANSLATED BY
REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

THE Babylonians believed that every event which followed another had been caused by the preceding one, and accordingly formed a pseudo-science in which every possible phenomenon was assigned some consequence supposed to result from it. Omens were thus drawn from all conceivable occurrences, and lists were compiled of the results that might be expected to succeed particular events. Thus there are tables of omens derived from dreams, from births, from the inspection of the hand or the entrails of animals, and from the objects a traveller meets

with on the road. The following table of omens furnished by dogs will give an idea of the nature of this Babylonian system of augury. The beginning of the tablet as well as the reverse has been destroyed; all that is left of it is translated below for the first time. The original terra cotta tablet is numbered K 217 in the British Museum Collection, and a copy of the text will be found in M. François Lenormant's *Choix de Textes Cunéiformes*, Vol. iii., p. 234.



TABLE OF OMENS FURNISHED BY DOGS.

- 1 (If a blue dog enters into a palace, that palace) is burned.
- 2 (If) a yellow dog enters into the palace, exit from that palace will be baleful.¹
- 3 (If) a spotted dog enters into the palace, that palace its peace to the enemy gives.
- 4 (If) a dog to the palace goes and no one kills, that palace its peace fails.
- 5 (If) a dog to the palace goes and on a bed lies down, that palace none with his hand takes.
- 6 (If) a dog to the palace goes and on a throne lies down, that palace is burned.
- 7 (If) a dog to the palace goes and on the royal parasol lies down, that palace its peace to the enemy gives.
- 8 (If) a dog into a temple enters, the gods to the country grant no favour.
- 9 (If) a white dog into a temple enters, the foundation of that temple (is) not stable.
- 10 (If) a black dog into a temple enters, the foundation of that temple (is) not stable.
- 11 (If) a blue dog into a temple enters, that temple sees plenty.
- 12 (If) a yellow dog into a temple enters, that temple sees plenty.
- 13 (If) a spotted dog into a temple enters, that temple do its gods love.

¹ Literally, "that palace, harm (is) exit from it."

- 14 (If) dogs crouch and into a temple enter, none this (temple) with his hand takes.
-

- 15 Seventeen statements altogether concerning the knowledge of omens.¹
-

- 16 (If) female dogs in the gates howl, the handmaids² conceive female seed.

- 17 (If) female dogs one litter bear, destruction to the city.

- 18 (If) female dogs bear a man,³ that city makes many fortresses

- 19 (If female dogs) eat , that city sees famine.

¹ This is a subscription by the scribe, and a short summary of the contents of the paragraphs copied. See also line 5, page 175, and the last paragraph or colophon of the tablet.

² Literally, "handmaidenhood."

³ Literally, "humanity."

TABLE OF BIRTH-PORTENTS.

A tablet of the same kind, which has already been translated by M. Oppert in the *Journal Asiatique*, may be added here. The original text is lithographed in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. iii., pl. 65.

OBVERSE

- 1 When a woman bears a child and it has the ears of a lion, a strong King is in the country.
- 2 When a woman bears a child and its right ear is wanting, the days of the Prince are long.
- 3 When a woman bears a child and both its ears are wanting, a (hostile) fortress is in the country and the country is made small.
- 4 When a woman bears a child and its right ear is small, the man's house is destroyed.
- 5 When a woman bears a child and its ears are small, the man's house is made of bricks.
- 6 When a woman bears a child and its right ear *hangs down*, an *androgyne*¹ in the man's house is born.
- 7 When a woman bears a child and its ears *hang down*, its country is destroyed; the prosperity of the enemy is seen.
- 8 When a woman bears a child and its right ear is round, an *androgyne*¹ in the man's house is born.
- 9 When a woman bears a child and its right ear is formed in the lower part of its face,² the man's son (and) the man's house are destroyed.

¹ Hermaphrodite.

² Rather, perhaps, the back of the neck. The word is used in the *Annals of Assur-nasir-pal* (ii. 53, and iii. 69.) in the sense of "behind."

- 10 When a woman bears a child and both its ears are on the right side and there is none on the left, the gods restore prosperity to the country and the campaign country abides at rest.
- 11 When a woman bears a child and both its ears are closed, *a sacrifice is made.*
-
- 12 When a woman bears a child and it has a bird's beak, that country is oppressed.
- 13 When a woman bears a child and it has no mouth, the mistress of the house dies.
- 14 When a woman bears a child and its right nostril is wanting, increase of the multitude.
- 15 When a woman bears a child and its nostrils are wanting, the country a (hostile) fortress seizes; the man's house is destroyed.
- 16 When a woman bears a child and its jaws are wanting, the days of the Prince are long; that house is destroyed.
- 17 When a woman bears a child and its lower jaw is wanting, the produce of the country for a year is not brought down.
- 18 When a woman bears a child and its knee is wanting, the man's house is destroyed.
- 19 When a woman bears a child and its knee is *stiff*, prosperity to the multitude.
- 20 When a woman bears a child and its is wanting, the country a (hostile) fortress seizes (and) the master of the house dies.
- 21 When a woman bears a child and its and its member are wanting, the army of the King is powerful; peace possesses that country, and the men *obedience* possess; Lilith¹ before them is not.

¹ Lilith plays a considerable part in Jewish tradition, which represents her as the demon-wife of Adam and a feminine night-spirit that wanders about in deserts. In Is. xxxiv. 14, Lilith is mentioned as taking up her abode in desolated Edom.

- 22 When a woman bears a child and the upper lip overhangs the lower, prosperity to the multitude.
- 23 When a woman bears a child and its lips are wanting, the country a (hostile) fortress seizes (and) the man's house is destroyed.
-

- 24 When a woman bears a child and its knee is *stiff*, that man is spared.
- 25 When a woman bears a child and its right hand is wanting, that country goes to destruction.
- 26 When a woman bears a child and its hands are wanting, the city (has) no births, the country is solitary and destroyed.
- 27 When a woman bears a child and the fingers of its right hand are wanting, the Prince makes no parleyings with his enemy.
- 28 When a woman bears a child and (it has) 6 fingers on the right hand, a persistent seizure seizes the house of the man.
- 29 When a woman bears a child and it has 6 toes on each foot,¹ the children go not to *school*.
- 30 When a woman bears a child and it has 6 toes on its right foot, increase of the multitude.
-

- 31 When a woman bears a child and its heart is open and it has no skin, the country sees privation.
- 32 When a woman bears a child and its member is wanting, the master of the house *enriches* himself by the crop of the field.
- 33 When a woman bears a child and its member and *navel* are wanting, the whole country sees misfortune; the women of it see hardship; its men (in) the palace are destroyed.

¹ Literally, "six toes apiece on its two feet."

- 34 When a woman bears a child and it has no sex, privation and invasion seize the country ; the master of the house is unprosperous.
- 35 When a woman bears a child and its anus is closed, the country sees privation.
- 36 When a woman bears a child and its right fundament is wanting, the country of the Prince is devastated.
-
- 37 When a woman bears a child and its right foot is wanting, that house goes to destruction ; the man's house falls.
- 38 When a woman bears a child and its feet are wanting, the roads of the country are cut ; that house is destroyed.
- 39 When a woman bears a child and its right foot is like the tail of a fish, the booty of the country
- 40 When a woman bears a child and its feet and hands are like the tail of a fish, the Prince eats the produce of his country.
- 41 When a woman bears a child and its feet move themselves through his overpowering hunger, that house . . . is destroyed.

REVERSE

- 1 When a woman bears a child and its foot is attached to the tendons of its body, there is pestilence in the country.
- 2 When a woman bears a child and it has three feet, two attached to the body (and) one to the two others,¹ there is pestilence in the country.
- 3 When a woman bears a child and its legs are male and female, the whole country sees misfortune ; the master

¹ Literally, "two descending into the body, the other into the midst of the other."

- 4 When a woman bears a child and its right heel is wanting, the country of the Prince is devastated.
-
- 5 Forty-six statements,¹ from "When a woman bears a child and it has a lion's ear": copied.²
- 6 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth³ its head is full of white-hairs, the days of the Prince are long.
- 7 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth it is full of . . . , the master of the house dies and that house is destroyed.
- 8 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth it is full of pieces of fat, (as for) that house prosperity goes before it.
- 9 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth it is full of *spots*, misfortune over it ensues; the King of its city dies.
- 10 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth it is full of *unclean swellings*, the King estranges his Princes.
- 11 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth it is full of hanging pieces of flesh, the forces of the whole country see misfortune.
- 12 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth it is full of flakes of flesh,⁴ the forces of the whole country see misfortune; that house is destroyed.
- 13 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth fingers are formed, the days of the Prince are long (and) extended (his) reign.
- [A blank line is left here in the original text.]
- 14 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth it is *perfect*, its King is in the country.

¹ This is a subscription by the scribe, and a short summary of the contents of the paragraphs copied. See also line 15, page 170, and the last paragraph or colophon of the tablet.

² Literally, "transferred from its (former) place."

³ Literally, "at that very time."

⁴ Literally, "tablets."

- 15 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth *its body is full-grown*, the master of the house is not prosperous.
- 16 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth its teeth are cut, the days of the Prince are long, a strong country is seen; against the country (there are) campaigns; that house is destroyed.
- 17 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth its beard is grown, *floods* are in the country.
- 18 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth it has a *hare-lip*, a strong country is conquered.
- 19 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth its mouth is open and speaks, there is pestilence in the country; the Air-god inundates the crops of the country; injury in the country is caused.
- 20 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth its right ear (is) *thick*, the father *shaves* the head; *the sons of the army* for a year are numerous.
- 21 When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth its ears are long and *thick*, the troops of a mighty *squadron* exist.
-
- 22 When a woman bears a child and its mouth is horned, an ambassador
-
- 23 When a sheep bears a lion, the forces march multitudinously: the King has not a rival.
-
- 24 Seventeen statements, from "When a woman bears a child and at the time of birth its head is covered with white hair," copied.¹

¹ This is a subscription by the scribe, and a short summary of the contents of the paragraphs copied. See also line 15, p. 170, and line 5, p. 175.

LISTS OF FURTHER TEXTS FOR TRANSLATION.

ASSYRIAN.

ARRANGED BY

GEORGE SMITH.

Works on History and Chronology.

Eponym Canon (Cun. Ins., Vol. III, p. 1).

Historical Canon (Cun. Ins., Vol. II, p. 52).

Synchronous History (Cun. Ins., Vol. II., p. 65).

Historical.

Legends of Izdubar (texts unpublished). (Deluge Tablets.)

Inscriptions of Uruk king of Babylonia (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 1).

Inscriptions of Dungi son of Uruk (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 2).

Early Babylonian Dated Tablets (texts unpublished).

Brick of Samsi-vul I, ruler of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vol. 1, p. 6).

Inscription of Agu and other early kings.

Inscriptions of Burna-buriyas king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 4, etc.).

Inscriptions of Kuri-galzu king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 4, etc.).

Inscriptions of Pudil king of Assyria (Revue Ar., Nov., 1869).

Monolith of Maruduk-bal-idina I, king of Babylonia (text unpublished).

Tablet of Vul-nirari I, king of Assyria (text unpublished).

Small Inscriptions of Vul-nirari (various).

Inscriptions of Shalmaneser I, king of Assyria (various).

Inscriptions of Tugulti-ninip, king of Assyria (various unpublished; one *Cun. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 4).

Inscriptions of Assur-risilim, king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 3).

Brick and Cone Inscriptions of Vul-bal-idina, king of Babylon (various).

Inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar I, king of Babylonia (unpublished).

Cylinder of Tiglath-Pileser I, king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 9-16).

Other fragments of Tiglath-Pileser (various).

Contracts dated in the reign of Maruduk-nadin-ahi, king of Babylon (various).

Inscriptions of Assur-bel-kala, king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 6).

Inscriptions of Samsivul IV, king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 3).

Contract dated in the reign of Simma-sihu king of Babylon (*Layard's Ins.*, p. 53).

Inscriptions of Assur-nazir-pal (various).

Bull Inscription of Shalmaneser II (*Layard's Ins.*, p. 12, etc.).

Inscriptions of Vul-nirari III, king of Assyria (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 35).

Fragments of Annals of Tiglath-Pileser II, king of Assyria (various).

Fragments of Inscriptions Shalmaneser IV, king of Assyria (various).

Inscription of the Second Year of Sargon (unpublished).

Nimrud Inscription of Sargon (*Layard's Ins.*, p. 33).

Cylinder (Barrel) of Sargon (*Cun. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 36).

Prism of Sargon (unpublished).

Fasti of Sargon (Botta).

Annals of Sargon (Botta).

Other Inscriptions of Sargon (various).

Tablet of Kalah Shergat.

Nebbi Yunas Tablet (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 43, 44).

Bull Inscriptions of Sennacherib (Cun. Ins., Vol. III, pp. 12 and 13).

Other Inscriptions of Sennacherib (various).

Cylinder of Esarhaddon king of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 45-47).

Various other Inscriptions of Esarhaddon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, etc.).

Egyptian Campaign of Esarhaddon (S. 2027).

Portions of Cylinders B, C, D, and E, of Assurbanipal (Smith's Assurbanipal).

Various Historical Tablets of Assurbanipal (Smith's Assurbanipal).

Hunting Texts of Assurbanipal (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 7).

Inscriptions of Assur-ebel-ili king of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vols. I and III).

Cylinder of Bel-zakir-iskun king of Assyria (Cun. Ins. Vol. I, p. 8).

Inscription of Nabopalassar king of Babylonia (unpublished).

Senkereh Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 51).

Borsippa Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 51).

Various other texts of Nebuchadnezzar.

Tablet dated in the reign of Evil Merodach, king of Babylon.

Cylinder of Nergal-shar-ezer king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 67).

Cylinders of Nabonidas king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 68, 69).

Other texts of Nabonidas (various).

Brick of Cyrus, king of Babylon (Trans. Soc. Bib. Ar., Vol. II, pt. I).

Inscription on Tomb of Cyrus.

Dated Tablets in reign of Cambyzes (various).

Inscriptions of Darius.

Inscriptions of Xerxes, king of Persia.

Inscriptions of Artaxerxes, king of Persia.

Later Inscriptions of Persian, Greek, and Parthian periods.

Mythology and Religion (mostly unpublished).

History of the Evil Spirits.

Hymn to the Moon God.

Hymns to Ninip.

The War of the Gods.

Names and Titles of Ishtar.

Incantations for removing Curses.

Prayers of Amil-urgal.

Prayer against Eclipses.

Various other Prayers.

Various Mythological Stories and Invocations.

Tablets against Witchcraft.

Fable (unpublished).

The Horse and the Ox.

Government (mostly unpublished).

Tablet with Advice and Cautions to Kings.

Various Reports and Despatches.

Various Tablets with Laws and Reports of Law Cases.

Private Life.

Further Deeds of Sale and Barter.

Further Loan Tablets.

Private Letters.

Lists of Property.

Science, etc. (partly unpublished).

Geographical Lists.

Lists of Animals and Birds (Delitzsch).

Lists of Minerals and their uses.

Lists of Wooden Objects.

Grammatical Tablets (a selection from).

Mathematical Tablets.

Astrology and Astronomy.

Further Selections from the great Chaldean Work on Astrology.

Further Selections from Astronomical and Astrological Reports.

A Selection of Omens from Terrestrial Objects and Events.¹

PHŒNICIAN.

Sarcophagus of Ashmunazer (Duc de Luynes, *Mémoire*, 1856).

Marseilles Inscription (Judas, 1857).

The Moabite Stone (Ginsburg, 1871).

Selected Mortuary Inscriptions.

¹ Selections of these only printed in Vol. I.

EGYPTIAN.

(Tentative List only.)

ARRANGED BY

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, F.R.S.L.

Historical Documents.

Ancient Empire :

Inscription of Tomb of Ameni (Benihassan I).

„ Tomb of Nahre-si Chnum-hotep (Benihassan II).

XIth Dynasty :

Sepulchral Inscription of Ameni (Birch).

XVIIIth Dynasty :

Inscription of Aahmes son of Abna (Denk. III, pl. 12).

„ Aahmes, formerly called Pensouvan
(Louvre C, 49).

„ Thothmes I, at Karnak (Denk. III, 18).

„ Hatasu (Duemichen, Hist. Ins., 19, 20).

Other Monuments of Thothmes III (Birch and De
Rougé).

Inscription of Amen-em-heb at Abd-el-Gurnah (Ebers).

Inscription of Haremhebi.

Inscriptions of Amenophis III (Denk. III, 65 and
following).

Monuments of the Disk Worshippers.

XIXth Dynasty :

Triumphal Inscription of Seti I at Karnak (Denk. III,
126).

Inscription of Seti I, at Radesieh.

Sarcophagus of Seti I (Bonomi).

The Great Harris Papyrus of Rameses II.

Dedicatory Inscription of Rameses II, at Abydos
(Maspero).

Triumphal Inscriptions (Denk. III, 165, etc.).

Historical Inscription at Abusimbel (187).

Great Tablet at Abusimbel (194).

Inscription of Bek-en-chonsu (Déveria).

List of Kings :

Turin Papyrus.

Tablet of Abydos.

Tablet of Sakkarah.

XXth Dynasty :

Inscription of Seti II (Duemichen, Hist. Ins., 1-5).

„ Rameses III (Rosellini, Burton, Greene,
and Duemichen, *ubi supra* 13 to 15).

XXIst Dynasty :

Tablet 4th year of Rameses IV.

Tablet of Temple of Chonsu at Karnak.

Ethiopic period :

Inscription of Queen Madsenen	} Mariette's Monuments.
Inscription of King Nastosenen	
“Stèle de l'inthronisation.”	

Persian and Ptolemaic :

Tablet of Aahmes (Pierret).

Statuette Naophore du Vatican.

Tablet of Tafnecht at Naples.

Inscription of Ptolemy son of Lagos.

Inscription of Alexander Aegôs (Zeitschrift).

Tablet of Canopus.

“Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Edfu” (Duemichen).

Two Ptolemaic Tablets (Birch).

Selection of Obelisk Inscriptions.

„ Apis Tablets.

Religious or Magical Texts.

Ancient Forms of Sepulchral Offerings, etc. (Tablets of Ancient Empire).

Book of the Dead.

Spells in Lepsius ("Aelteste Texte").

Harris Magical Papyrus.

Magical Text in British Museum (Salt 825. Birch).

"Horus on Crocodiles" (various texts, Leyden and elsewhere).

Spells in Tomb of Bek-en-ren-ef.

"Metternich Tablet."

Legend of Horus (Naville).

Rhind Papyri.

Sarcophagus of Aroeri (Bonomi).

„ Necht-en-heb.

„ T'at-hra (Louvre).

„ British Museum, 32.

Litanies of the Sun (Denk. III, 203).

Apis Stelæ (a very large number).

Selection of Hymns, such as the following :

To Ammon (Denk. III, 237).

Other Hymns to Ammon (Goodwin).

Ap-heru-mes (Berlin, in Brugsch Monumens, pl. III).

Meri („ „ „ pl. IV).

Fragments of the Hymns of the Disk Worshippers.

Several in British Museum.

„ Duemichen's publications.

Great Psalm to Ammon (Leyden I, 350).

Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky days (Sallier, Chabas).

Calendars of Festivals from as Early Date as possible to Roman Period.

Literature, Philosophy, Science, Economy.

Proverbs, Prisse Papyrus (Chabas).

Tale of the Garden of Flowers (Chabas).

- 'Tale of the "Saneha" (Goodwin).
 "Rules of Life" (Papyrus at Boulaq, lately published by
 Mariette).
 Song of the Oxen (Denk. III, 10).
 Lay of the Harper.
 Three Amatory Songs (Goodwin).
 Medical Papyrus (Berlin).
 " " (British Museum).
 " " (Ebers Papyrus).
 Geometrical Papyrus (British Museum).
 Calendar of Astronomical Observations in Tombs of XXth
 Dynasty (Renouf).
 Letters on all varieties of subjects in the Sallier, Anastasi,
 Leyden, and Bologna Papyri.
 Registers, etc., (Rollin and other Papyri).
 Accounts.
 Receipts for making Kyphi, etc.
 Catalogues of the Temple Library at Edfu.

Law and Police.

- Abbott Papyrus (Spoliation of Tombs).
 "Pap. Judiciaire de Turin" (Deveria).
 "Pap. Judiciaire Amhurst" (Chabas).
 Report on Capture of Fugitive Slaves (Leyden I, 368,
 Chabas).
 Complaint against Paneba (British Museum Papyrus, Salt,
 Chabas).
 Petition to king Amenophis (Chabas).
 Complaint against Thefts committed by certain Workmen
 (Chabas).

LIST OF ARTICLES

*Which have appeared in the "RECORDS OF THE PAST"
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EGYPTIAN TEXTS.

Inscription of Una.
Annals of Thothmes III.
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Tablet of Thothmes III.
Battle of Megiddo.
Inscription of Amen-em-heb.
Inscription of Anebni.
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Invasion of Egypt by the Greeks in the reign of
Menephtah.
Dirge of Menephtah I.
The Possessed Princess.
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By S. BIRCH, LL.D.

Hymn to Amen-Ra.
Tale of the Doomed Prince.
Treaty of Peace Between Rameses II. and the Hittites.
Neapolitan Stèle.
Festal Dirge of the Egyptians.

By C. W. GOODWIN, M.A.

Instructions of Amenemhat I.
Ethiopian Annals.
Stèle of the Dream.
Stèle of the Excommunication.

By G. MASPERO.

War of Rameses II with the Khita.

By PROF. E. L. LUSHINGTON.

Inscription of Pianchi Mer-Amon.
Hymn to the Nile.

By REV. F. C. COOK, M.A.

Tablet of Newer-Hotep.
The Tablet of Ahmes.
Inscription of Queen Madsenen.

By PAUL PIERRET.

Travels of an Egyptian.
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Hymn to Osiris.

By FRANÇOIS CHABAS.

Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys.
Book of the Respirations.

By P. J. DE HORRACK.

Tale of the Two Brothers.
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By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

Egyptian Calendar.
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Measures and Weights.

ASSYRIAN TEXTS.

Inscription of Rimmon-Nirari.
Monolith Inscription of Samas-Rimmon.
Babylonian Exorcisms.
Private Will of Sennacherib.
Assyrian Private Contract Tablets.
Assyrian Astronomical Tablets.
Assyrian Calendar.
Tables of Assyrian Weights and Measures.
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Tablet of Ancient Accadian Laws.

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Kurkh Inscription of Shalmaneser.

Table of Assyrian Laws.

Accadian Liturgy.

Babylonian Charms.

Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II.

Accadian Hymn to Istar.

Tables of Omens.

By REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

Inscription of Khammurabi.

Bellino's Cylinder of Sennacherib.

Taylor's Cylinder of Sennacherib.

Legend of the Descent of Ishtar.

Inscription of Esarhaddon.

Second Inscription of Esarhaddon.

Sacred Assyrian Poetry.

Sargina I. Infancy text.

Inscription of Nabonidus.

Darius Inscription Nakshi-Rustam.

War of Seven Evil Spirits.

By H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S.

Annals of Assurbanipal.

Early History of Babylonia. Part I.

" " Part II.

By GEORGE SMITH.

Behistun Inscription of Darius.

Inscription of Tiglath Pileser I.

By SIR H. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., D.C.L.

Annals of Assur-nasir-pal.

Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar.

Tiglath Pileser II.

Inscription of Neriglissar.

By REV. J. M. RODWELL.

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INSCRIPTION OF RIMMON-NIRARI.

By REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

INSCRIPTION OF KHAMMURABI.

By H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S.

MONOLITH INSCRIPTION OF SAMAS-RIMMON.

By REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

BELLINO'S CYLINDER OF SENNACHERIB.

By H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S.

TAYLOR'S CYLINDER OF SENNACHERIB.

By H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S.

ANNALS OF ASSURBANIPAL (CYLINDER A).

By GEORGE SMITH.

BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS.

By SIR H. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., D.C.L.

BABYLONIAN EXORCISMS.

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PRIVATE WILL OF SENNACHERIB.

By REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

ASSYRIAN PRIVATE CONTRACT TABLETS.

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LEGEND OF THE DESCENT OF ISHTAR.

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ASSYRIAN ASTRONOMICAL TABLETS.

By REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

ASSYRIAN CALENDAR.

By REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

TABLES OF ASSYRIAN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

By REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

LISTS OF FURTHER TEXTS, ASSYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN.

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INSCRIPTION OF UNA.

By S. BIRCH, LL.D.

INSTRUCTIONS OF AMENEMHAT I.

By G. MASPERO.

ANNALS OF THOTHMES III.

STATISTICAL TABLET. TABLET OF THOTHMES III. BATTLE OF MEGIDDO.

INSCRIPTION OF AMEN-EM-HEB.

By S. BIRCH, LL.D.

THE WARS OF RAMESES II WITH THE KHITA.

By PROF. E. L. LUSHINGTON.

INSCRIPTION OF PIANCHI MER-AMON.

By REV. F. C. COOK, M.A., CANON OF EXETER.

TABLET OF NEWER-HOTEP.

By PAUL PIERRET.

TRAVELS OF AN EGYPTIAN.

By FRANÇOIS CHABAS.

THE LAMENTATIONS OF ISIS AND NEPHTHYS.

By P. J. DE HORRACK.

HYMN TO AMEN-RA.

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THE TALE OF THE TWO BROTHERS.

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BY GEORGE SMITH.

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SYNCHRONOUS HISTORY OF ASSYRIA AND
BABYLONIA.

BY REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

ANNALS OF ASSUR-NASIR-PAL.

BY REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.

KURKH INSCRIPTION OF SHALMANESER.

BY REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

INSCRIPTION OF ESARHADDON.
SECOND INSCRIPTION OF ESARHADDON.

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AN ACCADIAN LITURGY.

BY REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

SACRED ASSYRIAN POETRY.

BY H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S.

BABYLONIAN CHARMS.

BY REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

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INSCRIPTION OF ANEBNI. INSCRIPTION OF AAHMES. OBELISK OF THE
LATERAN.

BY S. BIRCH, LL.D.

OBELISK OF RAMESES II.

BY FRANÇOIS CHABAS.

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN RAMESES II. AND THE HITTITES.

BY C. W. GOODWIN, M.A.

TABLET OF 400 YEARS.

INVASION OF EGYPT BY THE GREEKS IN THE REIGN OF MENEPHTAH.

DIRGE OF MENEPHTAH. POSSESSED PRINCESS.

BY S. BIRCH, LL.D.

TABLET OF AHMES.

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